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Montezuma Edition

HISTORY OF THE

Conquest of Peru

BY

WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT

EDITED BY

WILFRED HAROLD MUNRO

PROFESSOR OF EUROPEAN HISTORY IN BROWN UNIVERSITY

AND COMPRISING THE NOTES OF THE EDITION BY
JOHN FOSTER KIRK

Congestæ cumulantur opes, orbisque rapinas
Accipit.

CLAUDIAN, In Ruf., lib. i. v. 194

So color de religion
Van á buscar plata y oro
Del encubierto tesoro.

LOPE DE VEGA, El Nuevo Mundo, Jorn 1

VOL. III

RETURN OF PEDRO DE LA GASCA TO LIMA

Page 281

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VOL. III

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CIVIL WARS OF THE CONQUERORS

(CONTINUED)

CONQUEST OF PERU

CHAPTER V

THE ALMAGRO FACTION—THEIR DESPERATE CONDITION — CONSPIRACY AGAINST FRANCISCO PIZARRO—ASSASSINATION OF PIZARRO—ACTS OF THE CONSPIRATORS—PIZARRO'S CHARACTER

1541

WHEN Gonzalo Pizarro reached Quito, he received tidings of an event which showed that his expedition to the Amazon had been even more fatal to his interests than he had imagined. A revolution had taken place during his absence, which had changed the whole condition of things in Peru.

In a preceding chapter we have seen that when Hernando Pizarro returned to Spain his brother the marquis repaired to Lima, where he continued to occupy himself with building up his infant capital and watching over the general interests of the country. While thus employed, he gave little heed to a danger that hourly beset his path, and this, too, in despite of repeated warnings from more circumspect friends.

After the execution of Almagro, his followers, to the number of several hundred, remained scattered through the country, but, however scattered,

still united by a common sentiment of indignation against the Pizarros, the murderers, as they regarded them, of their leader. The governor was less the object of these feelings than his brother Hernando, as having been less instrumental in the perpetration of the deed. Under these circumstances, it was clearly Pizarro's policy to do one of two things,—to treat the opposite faction either as friends or as open enemies. He might conciliate the most factious by acts of kindness, efface the remembrance of past injury, if he could, by present benefits,—in short, prove to them that his quarrel had been with their leader, not with themselves, and that it was plainly for their interest to come again under his banner. This would have been the most politic as well as the most magnanimous course, and, by augmenting the number of his adherents, would have greatly strengthened his power in the land. But, unhappily, he had not the magnanimity to pursue it. It was not in the nature of a Pizarro to forgive an injury, or the man whom he had injured. As he would not, therefore, try to conciliate Almagro's adherents, it was clearly the governor's policy to regard them as enemies,—not the less so for being in disguise, —and to take such measures as should disqualify them for doing mischief. He should have followed the counsel of his more prudent brother Hernando, and distributed them in different quarters, taking care that no great number should assemble at any one point, or, above all, in the neighborhood of his own residence.

But the governor despised the broken followers

of Almagro too heartily to stoop to precautionary measures. He suffered the son of his rival to remain in Lima, where his quarters soon became the resort of the disaffected cavaliers. The young man was well known to most of Almagro's soldiers, having been trained along with them in the camp under his father's eye, and, now that his parent was removed, they naturally transferred their allegiance to the son who survived him.

That the young Almagro, however, might be less able to maintain this retinue of unprofitable followers, he was deprived by Pizarro of a great part of his Indians and lands, while he was excluded from the government of New Toledo, which had been settled on him by his father's testament.[1] Stripped of all means of support, without office or employment of any kind, the men of Chili, for so Almagro's adherents continued to be called, were reduced to the utmost distress. So poor were they, as is the story of the time, that twelve cavaliers who lodged in the same house could muster only one cloak among them all; and, with the usual feeling of pride that belongs to the poor *hidalgo*, unwilling to expose their poverty, they wore this cloak by turns, those who had no right to it remaining at home.[2] Whether true or not, the anecdote well illustrates the extremity to which Almagro's faction was reduced. And this distress was rendered yet more galling by the effrontery of their enemies, who, enriched by their forfeitures, displayed before

[1] Carta de Almagro, MS.

[2] Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 6, lib. 8, cap. 6.

their eyes all the insolent bravery of equipage and apparel that could annoy their feelings.

Men thus goaded by insult and injury were too dangerous to be lightly regarded. But, although Pizarro received various intimations intended to put him on his guard, he gave no heed to them. "Poor devils!" he would exclaim, speaking with contemptuous pity of the men of Chili; "they have had bad luck enough. We will not trouble them further."[3] And so little did he consider them that he went freely about, as usual, riding without attendants to all parts of the town and to its immediate environs.[4]

News now reached the colony of the appointment of a judge by the crown to take cognizance of the affairs of Peru. Pizarro, although alarmed by the intelligence, sent orders to have him well entertained on his landing, and suitable accommodations prepared for him on the route. The spirits of Almagro's followers were greatly raised by the tidings. They confidently looked to this high functionary for the redress of their wrongs; and two of their body, clad in suits of mourning, were chosen to go to the north, where the judge was expected to land, and to lay their grievances before him.

But months elapsed, and no tidings came of his arrival, till at length a vessel coming into port announced that most of the squadron had foundered in the heavy storms on the coast, and that the commissioner had probably perished with

[3] Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. 144.
[4] Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 3, cap. 6.

them. This was disheartening intelligence to the men of Chili, whose "miseries," to use the words of their young leader, "had become too grievous to be borne."[5] Symptoms of disaffection had already begun openly to manifest themselves. The haughty cavaliers did not always doff their bonnets on meeting the governor in the street; and on one occasion three ropes were found suspended from the public gallows, with labels attached to them, bearing the names of Pizarro, Velasquez the judge, and Picado the governor's secretary. This last functionary was peculiarly odious to Almagro and his followers. As his master knew neither how to read nor write, all his communications passed through Picado's hands; and, as the latter was of a hard and arrogant nature, greatly elated by the consequence which his position gave him, he exercised a mischievous influence on the governor's measures.[6] Almagro's poverty-stricken followers were the objects of his open ridicule, and he revenged the insult now offered him by riding before their young leader's residence, displaying a

[5] "My sufferings," says Almagro, in his letter to the Royal Audience of Panamá, "were enough to unsettle my reason." See his Letter in the original, Appendix No. 12.

[6] "Hizo Picado el secreptario del Marquez mucho daño á muchos, porque el marquez don Francisco Piçarro como no savia ler ni escrivir fiavase del y no hacia mas de lo que el le aconsejava y ansi hizo este mucho mal en estos rreinos, porque el que no andava á su voluntad sirviendole aunque tuviese meritos le destruya y este Picado fue causa de que los de Chile tomasen mas odio al marquez por donde le mataron. Porque queria este que todos lo reverenciasen, y los de Chile no hazian caso dél, y por esta causa los perseguia este mucho, y ansi vinieron á hazer lo que hizieron los de Chile." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Also Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 6.

tawdry magnificence in his dress, sparkling with gold and silver, and with the inscription, "For the Men of Chili," set in his bonnet. It was a foolish taunt; but the poor cavaliers who were the object of it, made morbidly sensitive by their sufferings, had not the philosophy to despise it.[7]

At length, disheartened by the long-protracted coming of Vaca de Castro, and still more by the recent reports of his loss, Almagro's faction, despairing of redress from a legitimate authority, determined to take it into their own hands. They came to the desperate resolution of assassinating Pizarro. The day named for this was Sunday, the 26th of June, 1541. The conspirators, eighteen or twenty in number, were to assemble in Almagro's house, which stood in the great square next to the cathedral, and when the governor was returning from mass they were to issue forth and fall on him in the street. A white flag, unfurled at the same time from an upper window in the house, was to be the signal for the rest of their comrades to move to the support of those immediately engaged in the execution of the deed.[8]

These arrangements could hardly have been concealed from Almagro, since his own quarters were to be the place of rendezvous. Yet there is no good evidence of his having taken part in the conspiracy.[9] He was, indeed, too young to

[7] Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 3, cap. 6.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 6, lib. 10, cap. 2.

[8] Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1541.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 6.

[9] Yet this would seem to be contradicted by Almagro's own letter to the Audience of Panamá, in which he states that, galled by

make it probable that he took a leading part in it. He is represented by contemporary writers to have given promise of many good qualities, though, unhappily, he was not placed in a situation favorable for their development. He was the son of an Indian woman of Panamá, but from early years had followed the troubled fortunes of his father, to whom he bore much resemblance in his free and generous nature, as well as in the violence of his passions. His youth and inexperience disqualified him from taking the lead in the perplexing circumstances in which he was placed, and made him little more than a puppet in the hands of others.[10]

The most conspicuous of his advisers was Juan de Herrada, or Rada, as his name is more usually spelt,—a cavalier of respectable family, who, having early enlisted as a common soldier, had gradually risen to the highest posts in the army by his military talents. At this time he was well advanced in years; but the fires of youth were not

intolerable injuries, he and his followers had resolved to take the remedy into their own hands, by entering the governor's house and seizing his person. (See the original in Appendix No. 12.) It is certain, however, that in the full accounts we have of the affair by writers who had the best means of information, we do not find Almagro's name mentioned as one who took an active part in the tragic drama. His own letter merely expresses that it was his purpose to have taken part in it, with the further declaration that it was simply to seize, not to slay, Pizarro,—a declaration which no one who reads the history of the transactions will be very ready to credit.

[10] "Mancebo virtuoso, i de grande Animo, i bien enseñado; i especialmente se havia exercitado mucho en cavalgar a Caballo, de ambas sillas, lo qual hacia con mucha gracia, i destreça, i tambien en escrevir, i leer, lo qual hacia mas liberalmente, i mejor de lo que requeria su Profesion. De este tenia cargo, como Aio, Juan de Herrada." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 6.

quenched in his bosom, and he burned with desire to avenge the wrongs done to his ancient commander. The attachment which he had ever felt for the elder Almagro he seems to have transferred in full measure to his son; and it was apparently with reference to him, even more than to himself, that he devised this audacious plot and prepared to take the lead in the execution of it.

There was one, however, in the band of conspirators who felt some compunctions of conscience at the part he was acting, and who relieved his bosom by revealing the whole plot to his confessor. The latter lost no time in reporting it to Picado, by whom in turn it was communicated to Pizarro. But, strange to say, it made little more impression on the governor's mind than the vague warnings he had so frequently received. "It is a device of the priest," said he: "he wants a mitre."[11] Yet he repeated the story to the judge Velasquez, who, instead of ordering the conspirators to be seized and the proper steps taken for learning the truth of the accusation, seemed to be possessed with the same infatuation as Pizarro; and he bade the governor be under no apprehension, "for no harm should come to him while the rod of justice," not a metaphorical badge of authority in Castile, "was in

[11] "Pues un dia antes un sacerdote clerigo llamado Benao fue de noche y avisso a Picado el secreptario y dixole mañana Domingo quando el marquez saliere á misa tienen concertado los de Chile de matar al marquez y á vos y á sus amigos. Esto me a dicho vno en confision para que os venga á avisar. Pues savido esto Picado se fue luego y lo conto al marquez y el le rrespondio. Ese clerigo obispado quiere." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

his hands." [12] Still, to obviate every possibility of danger, it was deemed prudent for Pizarro to abstain from going to mass on Sunday, and to remain at home on pretence of illness.

On the day appointed, Rada and his companions met in Almagro's house, and waited with anxiety for the hour when the governor should issue from the church. But great was their consternation when they learned that he was not there, but was detained at home, as currently reported, by illness. Little doubting that their design was discovered, they felt their own ruin to be the inevitable consequence, and that, too, without enjoying the melancholy consolation of having struck the blow for which they had incurred it. Greatly perplexed, some were for disbanding, in the hope that Pizarro might, after all, be ignorant of their design. But most were for carrying it into execution at once, by assaulting him in his own house. The question was summarily decided by one of the party, who felt that in this latter course lay their only chance of safety. Throwing open the doors, he rushed out, calling on his comrades "to follow him, or he would proclaim the purpose for which they had met." There was no longer hesitation, and the cavaliers issued forth, with Rada at their head, shouting, as they went, "Long live the King! Death to the tyrant!" [13]

[12] "El Juan Velasquez le dixo. No tema vuestra señoria que mientras yo tuviere esta vara en la mano nadie se atrevera." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

[13] Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 6, lib. 10, cap. 6.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 8.—

It was the hour of dinner, which, in this primitive age of the Spanish colonies, was at noon. Yet numbers, roused by the cries of the assailants, came out into the square to inquire the cause. "They are going to kill the marquis," some said, very coolly; others replied, "It is Picado." No one stirred in their defence. The power of Pizarro was not seated in the hearts of his people.

As the conspirators traversed the *plaza,* one of the party made a circuit to avoid a little pool of water that lay in their path. "What!" exclaimed Rada, "afraid of wetting your feet, when you are to wade up to your knees in blood!" And he ordered the man to give up the enterprise and go home to his quarters. The anecdote is characteristic.[14]

The governor's palace stood on the opposite side of the square. It was approached by two court-yards. The entrance to the outer one was protected by a massive gate, capable of being made good against a hundred men or more. But it was left open, and the assailants, hurrying through to the inner court, still shouting their fearful battle-cry, were met by two domestics loitering in the yard. One of these they struck down. The other, flying in all haste towards the

Naharro, Relacion sumaria, MS.—Carta del Maestro, Martin de Arauco, MS., 15 de Julio, 1541.

[14] "Gomez Perez por haver alli agua derramada de una acequia, rodeo algun tanto por no mojarse; reparó en ello Juan de Rada, y entrandose atrevido por el agua le dijo: ¿Bamos á bañarnos en sangre humana, y rehusais mojaros los pies en agua? Ea volveos, hizolo volver y no asistió al hecho." Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1541.

house, called out, "Help, help! the men of Chili are all coming to murder the marquis!"

Pizarro at this time was at dinner, or, more probably, had just dined. He was surrounded by a party of friends, who had dropped in, it seems, after mass, to inquire after the state of his health, some of whom had remained to partake of his repast. Among these was Don Martinez de Alcantara, Pizarro's half-brother by the mother's side, the judge Velasquez, the bishop elect of Quito, and several of the principal cavaliers in the place, to the number of fifteen or twenty. Some of them, alarmed by the uproar in the court-yard, left the saloon, and, running down to the first landing on the stairway, inquired into the cause of the disturbance. No sooner were they informed of it by the cries of the servant than they retreated with precipitation into the house; and, as they had no mind to abide the storm unarmed, or at best imperfectly armed, as most of them were, they made their way to a corridor that overlooked the gardens, into which they easily let themselves down without injury. Velasquez, the judge, the better to have the use of his hands in the descent, held his rod of office in his mouth, thus taking care, says a caustic old chronicler, not to falsify his assurance that "no harm should come to Pizarro while the rod of justice was in his hands"![15]

[15] "En lo qual no paresce haver quebrantado su palabra, porque despues huiendo (como adelante se dirà) al tiempo, que quisieron matar al Marques, se hecho de vna Ventana abajo, à la Huerta, llevando la Vara en la boca." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 7.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Naharro, Relacion sumaria,

Meanwhile, the marquis, learning the nature of the tumult, called out to Francisco de Chaves, an officer high in his confidence, and who was in the outer apartment opening on the staircase, to secure the door, while he and his brother Alcantara buckled on their armor. Had this order, coolly given, been as coolly obeyed, it would have saved them all, since the entrance could easily have been maintained against a much larger force, till the report of the cavaliers who had fled had brought support to Pizarro. But, unfortunately, Chaves, disobeying his commander, half opened the door, and attempted to enter into a parley with the conspirators. The latter had now reached the head of the stairs, and cut short the debate by running Chaves through the body and tumbling his corpse down into the area below. For a moment they were kept at bay by the attendants of the slaughtered cavalier, but these, too, were quickly despatched; and Rada and his companions, entering the apartment, hurried across it, shouting out, "Where is the marquis? Death to the tyrant!"

Martinez de Alcantara, who in the adjoining room was assisting his brother to buckle on his mail, no sooner saw that the entrance to the antechamber had been gained than he sprang to the doorway of the apartment, and, assisted by two young men, pages of Pizarro, and by one or two cavaliers in attendance, endeavored to resist

MS.—Carta del Maestro, Martin de Arauco, MS.—Carta de Fray Vicente de Valverde á la Audiencia de Panamá, MS., desde Tumbez, 15 de Nov. 1541.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. 145.

the approach of the assailants. A desperate struggle now ensued. Blows were given on both sides, some of which proved fatal, and two of the conspirators were slain, while Alcantara and his brave companions were repeatedly wounded.

At length, Pizarro, unable, in the hurry of the moment, to adjust the fastening of his cuirass, threw it away, and, enveloping one arm in his cloak, with the other seized his sword and sprang to his brother's assistance. It was too late; for Alcantara was already staggering under the loss of blood, and soon fell to the ground. Pizarro threw himself on his invaders, like a lion roused in his lair, and dealt his blows with as much rapidity and force as if age had no power to stiffen his limbs. "What ho!" he cried, "traitors! have you come to kill me in my own house?" The conspirators drew back for a moment, as two of their body fell under Pizarro's sword; but they quickly rallied, and, from their superior numbers, fought at great advantage by relieving one another in the assault. Still, the passage was narrow, and the struggle lasted for some minutes, till both of Pizarro's pages were stretched by his side, when Rada, impatient of the delay, called out, "Why are we so long about it? Down with the tyrant!" and taking one of his companions, Narvaez, in his arms, he thrust him against the marquis. Pizarro, instantly grappling with his opponent, ran him through with his sword. But at that moment he received a wound in the throat, and, reeling, he sank on the floor, while the swords of Rada and several of the conspirators were

plunged into his body. "Jesu!" exclaimed the dying man, and, tracing a cross with his finger on the bloody floor, he bent down his head to kiss it, when a stroke more friendly than the rest put an end to his existence.[16]

The conspirators, having accomplished their bloody deed, rushed into the street, and, brandishing their dripping weapons, shouted out, "The tyrant is dead! The laws are restored! Long live our master the emperor, and his governor, Almagro!" The men of Chili, roused by the cheering cry, now flocked in from every side to join the banner of Rada, who soon found himself at the head of nearly three hundred followers, all armed and prepared to support his authority. A guard was placed over the houses of the principal partisans of the late governor, and their persons were taken into custody. Pizarro's house, and that of his secretary Picado, were delivered

[16] Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 8.—Naharro, Relacion sumaria, MS.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 6, lib. 10, cap. 6.—Carta de la Justicia y Regimento de la Ciudad de los Reyes, MS., 15 de Julio, 1541.—Carta del Maestro, Martin de Arauco, MS.—Carta de Fray Vicente Valverde, desde Tumbez, MS.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., ubi supra.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1541.—Pizarro y Orellana seems to have no doubt that his slaughtered kinsman died in the odor of sanctity: "Alli le acabaron los traidores enemigos, dandole cruelissimas heridas, con que acabó el Julio Cesar Español, estando tan en si que pidiendo confession con gran acto de contricion, haziendo la señal de la Cruz con su misma sangre, y besandola murió." Varones ilustres, p. 186. —According to one authority, the mortal blow was given by a soldier named Borregan, who, when Pizarro was down, struck him on the back of the head with a water-jar, which he had snatched from the table. (Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 6, lib. 10, cap. 6.) Considering the hurry and confusion of the scene, the different narratives of the catastrophe, though necessarily differing in minute details, have a remarkable agreement with one another.

up to pillage, and a large booty in gold and silver was found in the former. Picado himself took refuge in the dwelling of Riquelme, the treasurer; but his hiding-place was detected,—betrayed, according to some accounts, by the looks, though not the words, of the treasurer himself,—and he was dragged forth and committed to a secure prison.[17] The whole city was thrown into consternation, as armed bodies hurried to and fro on their several errands; and all who were not in the faction of Almagro trembled lest they should be involved in the proscription of their enemies. So great was the disorder that the Brothers of Mercy, turning out in a body, paraded the streets in solemn procession, with the host elevated in the air, in hopes by the presence of the sacred symbol to calm the passions of the multitude.

But no other violence was offered by Rada and his followers than to apprehend a few suspected persons and to seize upon horses and arms wherever they were to be found. The municipality was then summoned to recognize the authority of Almagro; the refractory were ejected without ceremony from their offices, and others, of the Chili faction, were substituted. The claims of the new aspirant were fully recognized; and young Almagro, parading the streets on horse-

[17] "No se olvidaron de buscar à Antonio Picado, i iendo en casa del Tesorero Alonso Riquelme, èl mismo iba diciendo: No sè adonde està el Señor Picado, i con los ojos le mostraba, i le hallaron debaxo de la cama." Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 6, lib. 10, cap. 7.—We find Riquelme's name, soon after this, enrolled among the municipality of Lima, showing that he found it convenient to give in his temporary adhesion, at least, to Almagro. Carta de la Justicia y Regimiento de la Ciudad de los Reyes, MS.

back and escorted by a well-armed body of cavaliers, was proclaimed by sound of trumpet governor and captain-general of Peru.

Meanwhile, the mangled bodies of Pizarro and his faithful adherents were left weltering in their blood. Some were for dragging forth the governor's corpse to the market-place and fixing his head upon a gibbet. But Almagro was secretly prevailed on to grant the entreaties of Pizarro's friends and allow his interment. This was stealthily and hastily performed, in the fear of momentary interruption. A faithful attendant and his wife, with a few black domestics, wrapped the body in a cotton cloth and removed it to the cathedral. A grave was hastily dug in an obscure corner, the services were hurried through, and, in secrecy, and in darkness dispelled only by the feeble glimmering of a few tapers furnished by these humble menials, the remains of Pizarro, rolled in their bloody shroud, were consigned to their kindred dust. Such was the miserable end of the Conqueror of Peru,—of the man who but a few hours before had lorded it over the land with as absolute a sway as was possessed by its hereditary Incas. Cut off in the broad light of day, in the heart of his own capital, in the very midst of those who had been his companions in arms and shared with him his triumphs and his spoils, he perished like a wretched outcast. "There was none even," in the expressive language of the chronicler, "to say, God forgive him!" [18]

[18] "Muriò pidiendo confesion, i haciendo la Cruz, sin que nadie dijese, Dios te perdone." Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. 144.—

A few years later, when tranquillity was restored to the country, Pizarro's remains were placed in a sumptuous coffin and deposited under a monument in a conspicuous part of the cathedral. And in 1607, when time had thrown its friendly mantle over the past, and the memory of his errors and his crimes were merged in the consideration of the great services he had rendered to the crown by the extension of her colonial empire, his bones were removed to the new cathedral, and allowed to repose side by side with those of Mendoza, the wise and good Viceroy of Peru.[19] *

MS. de Caravantes.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 8.—Carta del Maestro, Martin de Arauco, MS.—Carta de Fray Vicente Valverde, desde Tumbez, MS.

[19] "Sus huesosençerrados en una caxa guarnecida de terciopelo morado con passamanos de oro que yo he visto." MS. de Caravantes.

* [For many years visitors were shown, in the crypt of the cathedral of Lima, what was said to be the skeleton of Pizarro. There the writer saw it in 1873. The most noticeable thing about it was the high arch of the instep. No special care seemed to be bestowed upon the bones, and therefore considerable skepticism respecting the genuineness of the remains was always manifested. On the three-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the death of the marquis this skepticism was proved to be justifiable.

On that day the dean pointed out to the city and cathedral authorities "the place where the remains of the founder of Lima were deposited. On opening the iron-barred wooden doors closing a longitudinal niche in the left wall, there appeared a casket of ordinary wood, painted black. The cloth which covered it was then raised, disclosing a mummified body, which by the unanimous declaration of the members present represented the remains of Don Francisco Pizarro, preserved here since the founding of the cathedral, and whose authenticity and identity were established by unquestioned tradition extending over many years and by the constant care exercised during all this time by the Cathedral Chapter."

When the coffin was opened, a body almost completely mummified was revealed. Both hands were lacking, as were also some of the organs. The head, trunk, and lower extremities formed almost a solid mass. The skin was mostly intact upon the body, but was

Pizarro was, probably, not far from sixty-five years of age at the time of his death; though this, it must be added, is but loose conjecture, since there exists no authentic record of the date of his

lacking upon the head, because of wounds which had hastened decay before the mummification was accomplished. An exaggerated height of the instep was noticeable. The hands appeared to have been torn off at a comparatively recent time. Most of the toes had also been torn off. The stature was of a man above the middle height. The closing of certain sutures of the cranial bones showed that the man must have been more than seventy years of age.

The body was examined with the utmost care in order that the fact that it was unquestionably Pizarro's might be proved to the satisfaction of the world. The technical information given by the physicians as a result of this examination corresponds most accurately with the historical accounts of the death of the marquis.

Being unable to adjust his cuirass when the assassins attacked him, he threw it away, and, enveloping his left arm in a cloak, rushed into the fray. So runs the historical account. The wounds upon the arm of the mummy demonstrated its truth. The condition of the neck proved beyond a doubt the fact that the cutting of the great arteries there was the main cause of death. Even the effect produced upon the head by the blow from the water-jar could be noted in the condition of the skin at that place. Some of the accounts speak of "many inhuman and infamous things" done to the body of the dead man, and the absence of some of the organs established the truth of that statement. The back of the mummy was, of course, uninjured.

All the facts specified may be noted to-day, for, after the examination, the body was finally placed in a case of white marble with glass on three sides. In the cathedral, in the Chapel of the Kings, it now rests.

The mummified features were carefully compared with various portraits of Pizarro. "So far as it is possible to reinvest a skull with the flesh and skin of life the identity is complete." The prognathism of the chin is most strongly evident. The quotations given in this note are translations of the report of the commissioners. The whole subject is admirably set forth in an article published by W. J. McGee in the "American Anthropologist," vol. vii., No. 1, "The Remains of Don Francisco Pizarro." The conclusion reached by Mr. McGee, in consequence of the examination, is somewhat startling. "In prognathism, in the general conformation of the cranium, in the breadth and fulness of the basal and occipital regions of the brain case, in the fossa of Lombroso, and *in all other important respects, the head is that of the typical criminal of to-day.*"—M.]

birth.[20] He was never married; but by an Indian princess of the Inca blood, daughter of Atahuallpa and granddaughter of the great Huayna Capac, he had two children, a son and a daughter. Both survived him; but the son did not live to manhood. Their mother, after Pizarro's death, wedded a Spanish cavalier, named Ampuero, and removed with him to Spain. Her daughter Francisca accompanied her, and was there subsequently married to her uncle Hernando Pizarro, then a prisoner in the Mota del Medina. Neither the title nor estates of the Marquis Francisco descended to his illegitimate offspring. But in the third generation, in the reign of Philip the Fourth, the title was revived in favor of Don Juan Hernando Pizarro, who, out of gratitude for the services of his ancestor, was created Marquis of the Conquest, *Marques de la Conquista*, with a liberal pension from government. His descendants, bearing the same title of nobility, are still to be found, it is said, at Truxillo, in the ancient province of Estremadura, the original birthplace of the Pizarros.[21]

Pizarro's person has been already described. He was tall in stature, well proportioned, and with a countenance not unpleasing. Bred in

[20] *Ante*, Book 2, chap. 2, note 1.

[21] MS. de Caravantes.—Quintana, Españoles célebres, tom. ii. p. 417.—See also the *Discurso legal y político*, annexed by Pizarro y Orellana to his bulky tome, in which that cavalier urges the claims of Pizarro. It is in the nature of a memorial to Philip IV. in behalf of Pizarro's descendants, in which the writer, after setting forth the manifold services of the Conqueror, shows how little his posterity had profited by the magnificent grants conferred on him by the crown. The argument of the Royal Counsellor was not without its effect.

camps, with nothing of the polish of a court, he had a soldier-like bearing, and the air of one accustomed to command. But, though not polished, there was no embarrassment or rusticity in his address, which, where it served his purpose, could be plausible and even insinuating. The proof of it is the favorable impression made by him on presenting himself, after his second expedition, —stranger as he was to all its forms and usages, —at the punctilious court of Castile.

Unlike many of his countrymen, he had no passion for ostentatious dress, which he regarded as an encumbrance. The costume which he most affected on public occasions was a black cloak, with a white hat, and shoes of the same color; the last, it is said, being in imitation of the Great Captain, whose character he had early learned to admire in Italy, but to which his own certainly bore very faint resemblance.[22]

He was temperate in eating, drank sparingly, and usually rose an hour before dawn. He was punctual in attendance to business, and shrank from no toil. He had, indeed, great powers of patient endurance. Like most of his nation, he

[22] Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. 144.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 9.—The portrait of Pizarro, in the viceregal palace at Lima, represents him in a citizen's dress, with a sable cloak,—the *capa y espada* of a Spanish gentleman. Each panel in the spacious *sala de los Vireyes* was reserved for the portrait of a viceroy. The long file is complete, from Pizarro to Pezuela; and it is a curious fact, noticed by Stevenson, that the last panel was exactly filled when the reign of the viceroys was abruptly terminated by the Revolution. (Residence in South America, vol. i. p. 228.) It is a singular coincidence that the same thing should have occurred at Venice, where, if my memory serves me, the last niche reserved for the effigies of its doges was just filled when the ancient aristocracy was overturned.

PORTRAIT OF FRANCISCO PIZARRO

camps, with nothing of the polish of a court, he had a soldier-like bearing, and the air of one accustomed to command. But, though not polished, there was no embarrassment or rusticity in his address, which, where it served his purpose, could be plausible and even insinuating. The proof of it is the favorable impression made by him on presenting himself after his second expedition, [illegible] ages,

[illegible] he had no pas- [illegible] regarded as [illegible] which he most [illegible] a black cloak, [illegible] color; the [illegible] the Great [illegible] learned to [illegible] own certainly

[illegible] drank sparingly, [illegible] dawn. He was [illegible] drank [illegible] powers of [illegible] nation, he

[illegible] del Peru, [illegible] palace at [illegible] cloak,—the [illegible] the spacious [illegible] viceroy. The [illegible] a curious [illegible] filled when [illegible] the exhibition [illegible] of [illegible] its

FRANCISCVS PIZARDVS GONZALI FIL. TRVSIGLIENSIS IBERVS PERVVIÆ SVBACTOR 1598
GRATVS ET
INGRATIS

was fond of play, and cared little for the quality of those with whom he played; though, when his antagonist could not afford to lose, he would allow himself, it is said, to be the loser,—a mode of conferring an obligation much commended by a Castilian writer for its delicacy.[23]

Though avaricious, it was in order to spend and not to hoard. His ample treasures, more ample than those, probably, that ever before fell to the lot of an adventurer,[24] were mostly dissipated in his enterprises, his architectural works, and schemes of public improvement, which, in a country where gold and silver might be said to have lost their value from their abundance, absorbed an incredible amount of money. While he regarded the whole country in a manner as his own, and distributed it freely among his captains, it is certain that the princely grant of a territory with twenty thousand vassals, made to him by the crown, was never carried into effect; nor did his heirs ever reap the benefit of it.[25]

To a man possessed of the active energies of Pizarro, sloth was the greatest evil. The excitement of play was in a manner necessary to a spirit accustomed to the habitual stimulants of war and

[23] Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 3, cap. 9.

[24] "Halló, i tuvo mas Oro, i Plata, que otro ningun Español de quantos han pasado á Indias, ni que ninguno de quantos Capitanes han sido por el Mundo." Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. 144.

[25] MS. de Caravantes.—Pizarro y Orellana, Discurso leg. y pol., ap. Varones ilust. Gonzalo Pizarro, when taken prisoner by President Gasca, challenged him to point out any quarter of the country in which the royal grant had been carried into effect by a specific assignment of land to his brother. See Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 36.

adventure. His uneducated mind had no relish for mere refined, intellectual recreation. The deserted foundling had been taught neither to read nor write. This has been disputed by some; but it is attested by unexceptionable authorities.[26] Montesinos says, indeed, that Pizarro, on his first voyage, tried to learn to read, but the impatience of his temper prevented it, and he contented himself with learning to sign his name.[27] But Montesinos was not a contemporary historian. Pedro Pizarro, his companion in arms, expressly tells us he could neither read nor write;[28] and Zarate, another contemporary, well acquainted with the Conquerors, confirms this statement, and adds that Pizarro could not so much as sign his name.[29] This was done by his secretary,—Picado, in his latter years,—while the governor merely made the customary *rúbrica* or flourish at the sides of his

[26] Even so experienced a person as Muñoz seems to have fallen into this error. On one of Pizarro's letters I find the following copy of an autograph memorandum by this eminent scholar:—*Carta de Francisco Pizarro, su letra i buena letra.*

[27] "En este viage trató Pizarro de aprender á leer; no le dió su viveza lugar á ello; contentose solo con saber firmar, de lo que se veia Almagro, y decia, que firmar sin saber leer era lo mismo que recibir herida, sin poder darla. En adelante firmó siempre Pizarro por si, y por Almagro su Secretario." Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1525.

[28] "Porque el marquez don Françisco Piçarro como no savia ler ni escrivir." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

[29] "Siendo personas," says the author, speaking both of Pizarro and Almagro, "no solamente, no leidas, pero que de todo punto no sabian leer, ni aun firmar, que en ellos fue cosa de gran defecto. . . . Fue el Marquès tan confiado de sus Criados, i Amigos, que todos los Despachos, que hacia, asi de Governacion, como de Repartimientos de Indios, libraba haciendo èl dos señales, en medio de las quales Antonio Picado, su Secretario, firmaba el nombre de Françisco Piçarro." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 9.

name. This is the case with the instruments I have examined, in which his signature, written probably by his secretary, or his title of *Marques*, in later life substituted for his name, is garnished with a flourish at the ends, executed in as bungling a manner as if done by the hand of a ploughman. Yet we must not estimate this deficiency as we should in this period of general illumination,—general, at least, in our own fortunate country. Reading and writing, so universal now, in the beginning of the sixteenth century might be regarded in the light of accomplishments; and all who have occasion to consult the autograph memorials of that time will find the execution of them, even by persons of the highest rank, too often such as would do little credit to a schoolboy of the present day.

Though bold in action and not easily turned from his purpose, Pizarro was slow in arriving at a decision. This gave him an appearance of irresolution foreign to his character.[30] Perhaps the consciousness of this led him to adopt the custom of saying "No," at first, to applicants for favor, and afterwards, at leisure, to revise his judgment and grant what seemed to him expedient. He took the opposite course from his comrade, Almagro, who, it was observed, generally said "Yes," but too often failed to keep his promise. This was characteristic of the careless

[30] This tardiness of resolve has even led Herrera to doubt his resolution altogether,—a judgment certainly contradicted by the whole tenor of his history: "Porque aunque era astuto, i recatado, por la maior parte fue de animo suspenso, i no mui resoluto." Hist. general, dec. 5, lib. 7, cap. 13.

and easy nature of the latter, governed by impulse rather than principle.[31]

It is hardly necessary to speak of the courage of a man pledged to such a career as that of Pizarro. Courage, indeed, was a cheap quality among the Spanish adventurers, for danger was their element. But he possessed something higher than mere animal courage, in that constancy of purpose which was rooted too deeply in his nature to be shaken by the wildest storms of fortune. It was this inflexible constancy which formed the key to his character and constituted the secret of his success. A remarkable evidence of it was given in his first expedition, among the mangroves and dreary marshes of Choco. He saw his followers pining around him under the blighting malaria, wasting before an invisible enemy, and unable to strike a stroke in their own defence. Yet his spirit did not yield, nor did he falter in his enterprise.

There is something oppressive to the imagination in this war against nature. In the struggle of man against man the spirits are raised by a contest conducted on equal terms; but in a war with the elements we feel that, however bravely we may contend, we can have no power to control. Nor are we cheered on by the prospect of glory in such a contest; for, in the capricious estimate of human glory, the silent endurance of priva-

[31] "Tenia por costumbre de quando algo le pedian dezir siempre de no, esto dezia el que hazia por no faltar su palabra, y no obstante que dezia no, correspondia con hazer lo que le pedian no aviendo inconveniente. . . . Don Diego de Almagro hera á la contra que á todos dezia si, y con pocos lo cumplia." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

tions, however painful, is little, in comparison with the ostentatious trophies of victory. The laurel of the hero—alas for humanity that it should be so!—grows best on the battle-field.

This inflexible spirit of Pizarro was shown still more strongly when, in the little island of Gallo, he drew the line on the sand which was to separate him and his handful of followers from their country and from civilized man. He trusted that his own constancy would give strength to the feeble, and rally brave hearts around him for the prosecution of his enterprise. He looked with confidence to the future; and he did not miscalculate. This was heroic, and wanted only a nobler motive for its object to constitute the true moral sublime.

Yet the same feature in his character was displayed in a manner scarcely less remarkable when, landing on the coast and ascertaining the real strength and civilization of the Incas, he persisted in marching into the interior at the head of a force of less than two hundred men. In this he undoubtedly proposed to himself the example of Cortés, so contagious to the adventurous spirits of that day, and especially to Pizarro, engaged as he was in a similar enterprise. Yet the hazard assumed by Pizarro was far greater than that of the Conqueror of Mexico, whose force was nearly three times as large, while the terrors of the Inca name—however justified by the result—were as widely spread as those of the Aztecs.

It was doubtless in imitation of the same captivating model that Pizarro planned the seizure of

Atahuallpa. But the situations of the two Spanish captains were as dissimilar as the manner in which their acts of violence were conducted. The wanton massacre of the Peruvians resembled that perpetrated by Alvarado in Mexico, and might have been attended with consequences as disastrous if the Peruvian character had been as fierce as that of the Aztecs.[32] But the blow which roused the latter to madness broke the tamer spirits of the Peruvians. It was a bold stroke, which left so much to chance that it scarcely merits the name of policy.

When Pizarro landed in the country, he found it distracted by a contest for the crown. It would seem to have been for his interest to play off one party against the other, throwing his own weight into the scale that suited him. Instead of this, he resorted to an act of audacious violence which crushed them both at a blow. His subsequent career afforded no scope for the profound policy displayed by Cortés when he gathered conflicting nations under his banner and directed them against a common foe. Still less did he have the opportunity of displaying the tactics and admirable strategy of his rival. Cortés conducted his military operations on the scientific principles of a great captain at the head of a powerful host. Pizarro appears only as an adventurer, a fortunate knight-errant. By one bold stroke he broke the spell which had so long held the land under the dominion of the Incas. The spell was broken, and the airy fabric of their empire, built on the

[32] See Conquest of Mexico, Book 4, chap. 8.

superstition of ages, vanished at a touch. This was good fortune, rather than the result of policy.

Pizarro was eminently perfidious. Yet nothing is more opposed to sound policy. One act of perfidy fully established becomes the ruin of its author. The man who relinquishes confidence in his good faith gives up the best basis for future operations. Who will knowingly build on a quicksand? By his perfidious treatment of Almagro, Pizarro alienated the minds of the Spaniards. By his perfidious treatment of Atahuallpa, and subsequently of the Inca Manco, he disgusted the Peruvians. The name of Pizarro became a by-word for perfidy. Almagro took his revenge in a civil war; Manco, in an insurrection which nearly cost Pizarro his dominions. The civil war terminated in a conspiracy which cost him his life. Such were the fruits of his policy. Pizarro may be regarded as a cunning man, but not, as he has been often eulogized by his countrymen, as a politic one.

When Pizarro obtained possession of Cuzco, he found a country well advanced in the arts of civilization; institutions under which the people lived in tranquillity and personal safety; the mountains and the uplands whitened with flocks; the valleys teeming with the fruits of a scientific husbandry; the granaries and warehouses filled to overflowing; the whole land rejoicing in its abundance; and the character of the nation, softened under the influence of the mildest and most innocent form of superstition, well prepared for the reception of a higher and a Christian civiliza-

tion. But, far from introducing this, Pizarro delivered up the conquered races to his brutal soldiery; the sacred cloisters were abandoned to their lust; the towns and villages were given up to pillage; the wretched natives were parcelled out like slaves, to toil for their conquerors in the mines; the flocks were scattered and wantonly destroyed; the granaries were dissipated; the beautiful contrivances for the more perfect culture of the soil were suffered to fall into decay; the paradise was converted into a desert. Instead of profiting by the ancient forms of civilization, Pizarro preferred to efface every vestige of them from the land, and on their ruin to erect the institutions of his own country. Yet these institutions did little for the poor Indian, held in iron bondage. It was little to him that the shores of the Pacific were studded with rising communities and cities, the marts of a flourishing commerce. He had no share in the goodly heritage. He was an alien in the land of his fathers.

The religion of the Peruvian, which directed him to the worship of that glorious luminary which is the best representative of the might and beneficence of the Creator, is perhaps the purest form of superstition that has existed among men. Yet it was much that, under the new order of things, and through the benevolent zeal of the missionaries, some glimmerings of a nobler faith were permitted to dawn on his darkened soul. Pizarro, himself, cannot be charged with manifesting any overweening solicitude for the propagation of the Faith. He was no bigot, like Cortés.

Bigotry is the perversion of the religious principle; but the principle itself was wanting in Pizarro. The conversion of the heathen was a predominant motive with Cortés in his expedition. It was not a vain boast. He would have sacrificed his life for it at any time; and more than once, by his indiscreet zeal, he actually did place his life and the success of his enterprise in jeopardy. It was his great purpose to purify the land from the brutish abominations of the Aztecs by substituting the religion of Jesus. This gave to his expedition the character of a crusade. It furnished the best apology for the Conquest, and does more than all other considerations towards enlisting our sympathies on the side of the conquerors.

But Pizarro's ruling motives, so far as they can be scanned by human judgment, were avarice and ambition. The good missionaries, indeed, followed in his train to scatter the seeds of spiritual truth, and the Spanish government, as usual, directed its beneficent legislation to the conversion of the natives. But the moving power with Pizarro and his followers was the lust of gold. This was the real stimulus to their toil, the price of perfidy, the true guerdon of their victories. This gave a base and mercenary character to their enterprise; and when we contrast the ferocious cupidity of the conquerors with the mild and inoffensive manners of the conquered, our sympathies even of the Spaniard, are necessarily thrown into the scale of the Indian.[33]

[33] The following vigorous lines of Southey condense, in a small compass, the most remarkable traits of Pizarro. The poet's epitaph

But, as no picture is without its lights, we must not, in justice to Pizarro, dwell exclusively on the darker features of his portrait. There was no one of her sons to whom Spain was under larger obligations for extent of empire; for his hand won for her the richest of the Indian jewels that once sparkled in her imperial diadem. When we contemplate the perils he braved, the sufferings he patiently endured, the incredible obstacles he overcame, the magnificent results he effected with his single arm, as it were, unaided by the government,—though neither a good nor a great man in the highest sense of that term, it is impossible not to regard him as a very extraordinary one.

Nor can we fairly omit to notice, in extenuation of his errors, the circumstances of his early life; for, like Almagro, he was the son of sin and sorrow, early cast upon the world to seek his fortunes as he might. In his young and tender age he was to take the impression of those into whose society he was thrown. And when was it the lot

may certainly be acquitted of the imputation, generally well deserved, of flattery towards the subject of it.

"FOR A COLUMN AT TRUXILLO.

'Pizarro here was born; a greater name
The list of Glory boasts not. Toil and Pain,
Famine, and hostile Elements, and Hosts
Embattled, failed to eheek him in his course,
Not to be wearied, not to be deterred,
Not to be overcome. A mighty realm
He overran, and with relentless arm
Slew or enslaved its unoffending sons,
And wealth and power and fame were his rewards.
There is another world, beyond the grave,
According to their deeds where men are judged.
O Reader! if thy daily bread be earned
By daily labor,—yea, however low,
However wretched, be thy lot assigned,—
Thank thou, with deepest gratitude, the God
Who made thee, that thou art not such as he."

of the needy outcast to fall into that of the wise and virtuous? His lot was cast among the licentious inmates of a camp, the school of rapine, whose only law was the sword, and who looked on the wretched Indian and his heritage as their rightful spoil.

Who does not shudder at the thought of what his own fate might have been, trained in such a school? The amount of crime does not necessarily show the criminality of the agent. History, indeed, is concerned with the former, that it may be recorded as a warning to mankind; but it is He alone who knoweth the heart, the strength of the temptation, and the means of resisting it, that can determine the measure of the guilt.

CHAPTER VI

MOVEMENTS OF THE CONSPIRATORS—ADVANCE OF VACA DE CASTRO—PROCEEDINGS OF ALMAGRO—PROGRESS OF THE GOVERNOR—THE FORCES APPROACH EACH OTHER—BLOODY PLAINS OF CHUPAS—CONDUCT OF VACA DE CASTRO

1541–1543

THE first step of the conspirators, after securing possession of the capital, was to send to the different cities, proclaiming the revolution which had taken place, and demanding the recognition of the young Almagro as governor of Peru. Where the summons was accompanied by a military force, as at Truxillo and Arequipa, it was obeyed without much cavil. But in other cities a colder assent was given, and in some the requisition was treated with contempt. In Cuzco, the place of most importance next to Lima, a considerable number of the Almagro faction secured the ascendency of their party, and such of the magistracy as resisted were ejected from their offices to make room for others of a more accommodating temper. But the loyal inhabitants of the city, dissatisfied with this proceeding, privately sent to one of Pizarro's captains, named Alvarez de Holguin, who lay with a considerable force in the neighborhood; and that officer, entering the

place, soon dispossessed the new dignitaries of their honors, and restored the ancient capital to its allegiance.

The conspirators experienced a still more determined opposition from Alonso de Alvarado, one of the principal captains of Pizarro,—defeated, as the reader will remember, by the elder Almagro at the bridge of Abancay,—and now lying in the north with a corps of about two hundred men, as good troops as any in the land. That officer, on receiving tidings of his general's assassination, instantly wrote to the Licentiate Vaca de Castro, advising him of the state of affairs in Peru, and urging him to quicken his march towards the south.[1]

This functionary had been sent out by the Spanish crown, as noticed in a preceding chapter, to co-operate with Pizarro in restoring tranquillity to the country, with authority to assume the government himself in case of that commander's death. After a long and tempestuous voyage, he had landed, in the spring of 1541, at the port of Buena Ventura, and, disgusted with the dangers of the sea, preferred to continue his wearisome journey by land. But so enfeebled was he by the hardships he had undergone that it was full three months before he reached Popayan, where he received the astounding tidings of the death of Pizarro. This was the contingency which had been provided for, with such judicious

[1] Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 13.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 6, lib. 10, cap. 7.—Declaracion de Uscategui, MS.—Carta del Maestro, Martin de Arauco, MS.—Carta de Fray Vicente Valverde, desde Tumbez, MS.

forecast, in his instructions. Yet he was sorely perplexed by the difficulties of his situation. He was a stranger in the land, with a very imperfect knowledge of the country, without an armed force to support him, without even the military science which might be supposed necessary to avail himself of it. He knew nothing of the degree of Almagro's influence, or of the extent to which the insurrection had spread,—nothing, in short, of the dispositions of the people among whom he was cast.

In such an emergency, a feebler spirit might have listened to the counsels of those who advised to return to Panamá and stay there until he had mustered a sufficient force to enable him to take the field against the insurgents with advantage. But the courageous heart of Vaca de Castro shrank from a step which would proclaim his incompetency to the task assigned him. He had confidence in his own resources and in the virtue of the commission under which he acted. He relied, too, on the habitual loyalty of the Spaniards; and, after mature deliberation, he determined to go forward, and trust to events for accomplishing the objects of his mission.

He was confirmed in this purpose by the advices he now received from Alvarado; and without longer delay he continued his march towards Quito. Here he was well received by Gonzalo Pizarro's lieutenant, who had charge of the place during his commander's absence on his expedition to the Amazon. The licentiate was also joined by Benalcazar, the conqueror of Quito, who brought

a small reinforcement and offered personally to assist him in the prosecution of his enterprise. He now displayed the royal commission empowering him, on Pizarro's death, to assume the government. That contingency had arrived, and Vaca de Castro declared his purpose to exercise the authority conferred on him. At the same time, he sent emissaries to the principal cities, requiring their obedience to him as the lawful representative of the crown,—taking care to employ discreet persons on the mission, whose character would have weight with the citizens. He then continued his march slowly towards the south.[2]

He was willing by his deliberate movements to give time for his summons to take effect, and for the fermentation caused by the late extraordinary events to subside. He reckoned confidently on the loyalty which made the Spaniard unwilling, unless in cases of the last extremity, to come into collision with the royal authority; and, however much this popular sentiment might be disturbed by temporary gusts of passion, he trusted to the habitual current of their feelings for giving the people a right direction. In this he did not miscalculate; for so deep-rooted was the principle of loyalty in the ancient Spaniard that ages of op-

[2] Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 6, lib. 10, cap. 4.—Carta de Benalcazar al Emperador, desde Cali, MS., 20 de Setiembre, 1542.—Benalcazar urged Vaca de Castro to assume only the title of Judge, and not that of Governor, which would conflict with the pretensions of Almagro to that part of the country known as New Toledo and bequeathed to him by his father: "Porque yo le avisé muchas veces no entrase en la tierra como Governador, sino como Juez de V. M., que venia á desagraviar á los agraviados, porque todos lo rescibirian de buena gana."

pression and misrule could alone have induced him to shake off his allegiance. Sad it is, but not strange, that the length of time passed under a bad government has not qualified him for devising a good one.

While these events were passing in the north, Almagro's faction at Lima was daily receiving new accessions of strength. For, in addition to those who from the first had been avowedly of his father's party, there were many others who, from some cause or other, had conceived a disgust for Pizarro, and who now willingly enlisted under the banner of the chief that had overthrown him.

The first step of the young general, or rather of Rada, who directed his movements, was to secure the necessary supplies for the troops, most of whom, having long been in indigent circumstances, were wholly unprepared for service. Funds to a considerable amount were raised, by seizing on the moneys of the crown in the hands of the treasurer. Pizarro's secretary, Picado, was also drawn from his prison and interrogated as to the place where his master's treasures were deposited. But, although put to the torture, he would not—or, as is probable, could not—give information on the subject; and the conspirators, who had a long arrear of injuries to settle with him, closed their proceedings by publicly beheading him in the great square of Lima.[3]

Valverde, Bishop of Cuzco, as he himself assures us, vainly interposed in his behalf. It is

[3] Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Carta de Barrio Nuevo, MS.—Carta de Fray Vicente Valverde, desde Tumbez, MS.

singular that the last time this fanatical prelate appears on the stage it should be in the benevolent character of a supplicant for mercy.[4] Soon afterwards he was permitted, with the judge, Velasquez, and some other adherents of Pizarro, to embark from the port of Lima. We have a letter from him, dated at Tumbez, in November, 1541; almost immediately after which he fell into the hands of the Indians, and with his companions was massacred at Puná. A violent death not unfrequently closed the stormy career of the American adventurer. Valverde was a Dominican friar, and, like Father Olmedo in the suite of Cortés, had been by his commander's side throughout the whole of his expedition. But he did not always, like the good Olmedo, use his influence to stay the uplifted hand of the warrior. At least this was not the mild aspect in which he presented himself at the terrible massacre of Caxamalca. Yet some contemporary accounts represent him, after he had been installed in his episcopal office, as unwearied in his labors to convert the natives and to ameliorate their condition; and his own correspondence with the government after that period shows great solicitude for these praiseworthy objects. Trained in the severest school of monastic discipline, which too often closes the heart against

[4] "Siendo informado que andavan ordenando la muerte á Antonio Picado secretario del Marques que tenian preso, fui á Don Diego é á su Capitan General Joan de Herrada é á todos sus capitanes, i les puse delante el servicio de Dios i de S. M. i que bastase en lo fecho por respeto de Dios, humillandome á sus pies porque no lo matasen: i no bastó que luego dende á pocos dias lo sacaron á la plaza desta cibdad donde le cortaron la cabeza." Carta de Fray Vicente de Valverde, desde Tumbez, MS.

the common charities of life, he could not, like the benevolent Las Casas, rise so far above its fanatical tenets as to regard the heathen as his brother, while in the state of infidelity; and, in the true spirit of that school, he doubtless conceived that the sanctity of the end justified the means, however revolting in themselves. Yet the same man who thus freely shed the blood of the poor native to secure the triumph of his faith would doubtless have as freely poured out his own in its defence. The character was no uncommon one in the sixteenth century.[5]

Almagro's followers, having supplied themselves with funds, made as little scruple to appropriate to their own use such horses and arms, of every description, as they could find in the city. And this they did with the less reluctance as the inhabitants for the most part testified no good will to their cause. While thus employed, Almagro received intelligence that Holguin had left Cuzco with a force of near three hundred men, with which he was preparing to effect a junction with Alvarado in the north. It was important to Almagro's success that he should defeat this junc-

[5] "Quel Señor obispo Fray Vicente de Balverde como persona que jamas ha tenido fin ni zelo al servicio de Dios ni de S. M. ni menos en la conversion de los naturales en los poner á dotrinar en las cosas de nuestra santa fée catholica, ni menos en entender en la paz é sosiego destos reynos, sino á sus intereses propios, dando mal ejemplo á todos." (Carta de Almagro á la Audiencia de Panamá, MS., 8 de Nov., 1541.) The writer, it must be remembered, was his personal enemy.*

* [Prescott seems to have mistaken the sense of this passage. Far from conceding to Valverde the zeal for the conversion of the natives ascribed to him in the text, Almagro asserts the precise opposite, and says that he cared for nothing but his own interests.—K.]

tion. If to procrastinate was the policy of Vaca de Castro, it was clearly that of Almagro to quicken operations and to bring matters to as speedy an issue as possible,—to march at once against Holguin, whom he might expect easily to overcome with his superior numbers, then to follow up the stroke by the still easier defeat of Alvarado, when the new governor would be, in a manner, at his mercy. It would be easy to beat these several bodies in detail, which once united would present formidable odds. Almagro and his party had already arrayed themselves against the government by a proceeding too atrocious, and one that struck too directly at the royal authority, for its perpetrators to flatter themselves with the hopes of pardon. Their only chance was boldly to follow up the blow, and by success to place themselves in so formidable an attitude as to excite the apprehensions of the government. The dread of its too potent vassal might extort terms that would never be conceded to his prayers.

But Almagro and his followers shrank from this open collision with the crown. They had taken up rebellion because it lay in their path, not because they had wished it. They had meant only to avenge their personal wrongs on Pizarro, and not to defy the royal authority. When, therefore, some of the more resolute, who followed things fearlessly to their consequences, proposed to march at once against Vaca de Castro, and, by striking at the head, settle the contest by a blow, it was almost universally rejected; and it was not till after long debate that it was finally

determined to move against Holguin and cut off his communication with Alonso de Alvarado.

Scarcely had Almagro commenced his march on Xauxa, where he proposed to give battle to his enemy, than he met with a severe misfortune in the death of Juan de Rada. He was a man somewhat advanced in years; and the late exciting scenes, in which he had taken the principal part, had been too much for a frame greatly shattered by a life of extraordinary hardship. He was thrown into a fever, of which he soon after died. By his death, Almagro sustained an inestimable loss; for; besides his devoted attachment to his young leader, he was, by his large experience and his cautious though courageous character, better qualified than any other cavalier in the army to conduct him safely through the stormy sea on which he had led him to embark.

Among the cavaliers of highest consideration after Rada's death, the two most aspiring were Christoval de Sotelo and Garcia de Alvarado; both possessed of considerable military talent, but the latter marked by a bold, presumptuous manner, which might remind one of his illustrious namesake, who achieved much higher renown under the banner of Cortés. Unhappily, a jealousy grew up between these two officers,—that jealousy so common among the Spaniards that it may seem a national characteristic; an impatience of equality, founded on a false principle of honor, which has ever been the fruitful source of faction among them, whether under a monarchy or a republic.

This was peculiarly unfortunate for Almagro, whose inexperience led him to lean for support on others, and who in the present distracted state of his council knew scarcely where to turn for it. In the delay occasioned by these dissensions, his little army did not reach the valley of Xauxa till after the enemy had passed it. Almagro followed close, leaving behind his baggage and artillery, that he might move the lighter. But the golden opportunity was lost. The rivers, swollen by autumnal rains, impeded his pursuit; and, though his light troops came up with a few stragglers of the rear-guard, Holguin succeeded in conducting his forces through the dangerous passes of the mountains, and in effecting a junction with Alonso de Alvarado near the northern seaport of Huaura.

Disappointed in his object, Almagro prepared to march on Cuzco,—the capital, as he regarded it, of his own jurisdiction,—to get possession of that city, and there make preparations to meet his adversary in the field. Sotelo was sent forward with a small corps in advance. He experienced no opposition from the now defenceless citizens; the government of the place was again restored to the hands of the men of Chili, and their young leader soon appeared at the head of his battalions, and established his winter-quarters in the Inca capital.

Here the jealousy of the rival captains broke out in an open feud. It was ended by the death of Sotelo, treacherously assassinated in his own apartment by Garcia de Alvarado. Almagro,

greatly outraged by this atrocity, was the more indignant as he felt himself too weak to punish the offender. He smothered his resentment for the present, affecting to treat the dangerous officer with more distinguished favor. But Alvarado was not the dupe of this specious behavior. He felt that he had forfeited the confidence of his commander. In revenge, he laid a plot to betray him; and Almagro, driven to the necessity of self-defence, imitated the example of his officer, by entering his house with a party of armed men, who, laying violent hands on the insurgent, slew him on the spot.[6]

This irregular proceeding was followed by the best consequences. The seditious schemes of Alvarado perished with him. The seeds of insubordination were eradicated, and from that moment Almagro received only implicit obedience and the most loyal support from his followers. From that hour, too, his own character seemed to be changed: he relied far less on others than on himself, and developed resources not to have been anticipated in one of his years; for he had hardly reached the age of twenty-two.[7] From this time he displayed an energy and forecast which proved him, in despite of his youth, not unequal to the trying emergencies of the situation in which it was his unhappy lot to be placed.

[6] Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 10–14.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. 147.—Declaracion de Uscategui, MS.—Carta de Barrio Nuevo, MS.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 6, lib. 10, cap. 13; dec. 7, lib. 3, cap. 1, 5.

[7] "Hiço mas que su edad requeria, porque seria de edad de veinte i dos años." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 20.

He instantly set about providing for the wants of his men, and strained every nerve to get them in good fighting-order for the approaching campaign. He replenished his treasury with a large amount of silver which he drew from the mines of La Plata. Saltpetre, obtained in abundance in the neighborhood of Cuzco, furnished the material for gunpowder. He caused cannon, some of large dimensions, to be cast under the superintendence of Pedro de Candia, the Greek, who, it may be remembered, had first come into the country with Pizarro, and who, with a number of his countrymen,—Levantines, as they were called, —was well acquainted with this manufacture. Under their care, fire-arms were made, together with cuirasses and helmets, in which silver was mingled with copper,[8] and of so excellent a quality that they might vie, says an old soldier of the time, with those from the workshops of Milan.[9] Almagro received a seasonable supply, moreover, from a source scarcely to have been expected. This was from Manco, the wandering Inca, who, detesting the memory of Pizarro, transferred to the young Almagro the same friendly feelings which he had formerly borne to his father,—

[8] "Y demas de esto hiço armas para la Gente de su Real, que no las tenia, de pasta de Plata, i Cobre, mezclado, de que salen mui buenos Coseletes: haviendo corregido, demàs de esto, todas las armas de la Tierra; de manera, que el que menos Armas tenia entre su Gente, era Cota, i Coracinas, ò Coselete, i Celadas de la mesma Pasta, que los Indios hacen diestramente, por muestras de las de Milàn." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 14.

[9] "Hombres de armas con tan buenas celadas borgoñesas como se hacen en Milan." Carta de Ventura Beltran al Emperador, MS., desde Vilcas, 8 de Octubre, 1542.

heightened, it may be, by the consideration that Indian blood flowed in the veins of the young commander. From this quarter Almagro obtained a liberal supply of swords, spears, shields, and arms and armor of every description, chiefly taken by the Inca at the memorable siege of Cuzco. He also received the gratifying assurance that the latter would support him with a detachment of native troops when he opened the campaign.

Before making a final appeal to arms, however, Almagro resolved to try the effect of negotiation with the new governor. In the spring, or early in the summer, of 1542, he sent an embassy to the latter, then at Lima, in which he deprecated the necessity of taking arms against an officer of the crown. His only desire, he said, was to vindicate his own rights,—to secure possession of New Toledo, the province bequeathed to him by his father, and from which he had been most unjustly excluded by Pizarro. He did not dispute the governor's authority over New Castile, as the country was designated which had been assigned to the marquis; and he concluded by proposing that each party should remain within his respective territory until the determination of the court of Castile could be made known to them. To this application, couched in respectful terms, Almagro received no answer.

Frustrated in his hopes of a peaceful accommodation, the young captain now saw that nothing was left but the arbitrament of arms. Assembling his troops preparatory to his departure from the capital, he made them a brief address.

He protested that the step which he and his brave companions were about to take was not an act of rebellion against the crown. It was forced on them by the conduct of the governor himself. The commission of that officer gave him no authority over the territory of New Toledo, settled on Almagro's father, and by his father bequeathed to him. If Vaca de Castro, by exceeding the limits of his authority, drove him to hostilities, the blood spilt in the quarrel would lie on the head of that commander, not on his. " In the assassination of Pizarro," he continued, " we took that justice into our own hands which elsewhere was denied us. It is the same now, in our contest with the royal governor. We are as true-hearted and loyal subjects of the crown as he is." And he concluded by invoking his soldiers to stand by him heart and hand in the approaching contest, in which they were all equally interested with himself.

The appeal was not made to an insensible audidence. There were few among them who did not feel that their fortunes were indissolubly connected with those of their commander; and, while they had little to expect from the austere character of the governor, they were warmly attached to the person of their young chief, who, with all the popular qualities of his father, excited additional sympathy from the circumstances of his age and his forlorn condition. Laying their hands on the cross, placed on an altar raised for the purpose, the officers and soldiers severally swore to brave every peril with Almagro and remain true to him to the last.

In point of numbers his forces had not greatly strengthened since his departure from Lima. He mustered but little more than five hundred men in all; but among them were his father's veterans, well seasoned by many an Indian campaign. He had about two hundred horse, many of them clad in complete mail, a circumstance not too common in these wars, where a stuffed doublet of cotton was often the only panoply of the warrior. His infantry, formed of pikemen and arquebuisers, was excellently armed. But his strength lay in his heavy ordnance, consisting of sixteen pieces, eight large and eight smaller guns, or falconets, as they were called, forming, says one who saw it, a beautiful park of artillery, that would have made a brave show on the citadel of Burgos.[10] The little army, in short, though not imposing from its numbers, was under as good discipline and as well appointed as any that ever fought on the fields of Peru; much better than any which Almagro's own father or Pizarro ever led into the field and won their conquests with. Putting himself at the head of his gallant company, the chieftain sallied forth from the walls of Cuzco about midsummer in 1542, and directed his march towards the coast in expectation of meeting the enemy.[11]

[10] "El artilleria hera suficiente para hazer bateria en el castillo de Burgos." Dicho del Capitain Francisco de Carvajal sobre la pregunta 38 de la informacion hecha en el Cuzco en 1543, á favor de Vaca de Castro, MS.

[11] Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Declaracion de Uscategui, MS.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 2, cap. 13.—Carta del Cabildo de Arequipa al Emperador, San Joan de la Frontera, MS., 24 de Set., 1542.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 3, cap. 1, 2.

While the events detailed in the preceding pages were passing, Vaca de Castro, whom we left at Quito in the preceding year, was advancing slowly towards the south. His first act after leaving that city showed his resolution to enter into no compromise with the assassins of Pizarro. Benalcazar, the distinguished officer whom I have mentioned as having early given in his adherence to him, had protected one of the principal conspirators, his personal friend, who had come into his power, and had facilitated his escape. The governor, indignant at the proceeding, would listen to no explanation, but ordered the offending officer to return to his own district of Popayan. It was a bold step, in the precarious state of his own fortunes.

As the governor pursued his march, he was well received by the people on the way; and when he entered the cities of San Miguel and Truxillo he was welcomed with loyal enthusiasm by the inhabitants, who readily acknowledged his authority, though they showed little alacrity to take their chance with him in the coming struggle.

After lingering a long time in each of these places, he resumed his march, and reached the camp of Alonso de Alvarado at Huaura, early in 1542. Holguin had established his quarters at some little distance from his rival; for a jealousy had sprung up, as usual, between these two captains, who both aspired to the supreme command of captain-general of the army. The office of governor, conferred on Vaca de Castro, might

seem to include that of commander-in-chief of the forces. But De Castro was a scholar, bred to the law; and, whatever authority he might arrogate to himself in civil matters, the two captains imagined that the military department he would resign into the hands of others. They little knew the character of the man.

Though possessed of no more military science than belonged to every cavalier in that martial age, the governor knew that to avow his ignorance, and to resign the management of affairs into the hands of others, would greatly impair his authority, if not bring him into contempt with the turbulent spirits among whom he was now thrown. He had both sagacity and spirit, and trusted to be able to supply his own deficiencies by the experience of others. His position placed the services of the ablest men in the country at his disposal, and with the aid of their counsels he felt quite competent to decide on his plan of operations and to enforce the execution of it. He knew, moreover, that the only way to allay the jealousy of the two parties in the present crisis was to assume himself the office which was the cause of their dissension.

Still, he approached his ambitious officers with great caution; and the representations which he made through some judicious persons who had the most intimate access to them were so successful that both were in a short time prevailed on to relinquish their pretensions in his favor. Holguin, the more unreasonable of the two, then waited on him in his rival's quarters, where the governor had

the further satisfaction to reconcile him to Alonso de Alvarado. It required some address, as their jealousy of each other had proceeded to such lengths that a challenge had passed between them.

Harmony being thus restored, the licentiate passed over to Holguin's camp, where he was greeted with salvoes of artillery, and loud acclamations of " Viva el Rey " from the loyal soldiery. Ascending a platform covered with velvet, he made an animated harangue to the troops; his commission was read aloud by the secretary; and the little army tendered their obedience to him as the representative of the crown.

Vaca de Castro's next step was to send off the greater part of his force in the direction of Xauxa, while, at the head of a small corps, he directed his march towards Lima. Here he was received with lively demonstrations of joy by the citizens, who were generally attached to the cause of Pizarro, the founder and constant patron of their capital. Indeed, the citizens had lost no time after Almagro's departure in expelling his creatures from the municipality and reasserting their allegiance. With these favorable dispositions towards himself, the governor found no difficulty in obtaining a considerable loan of money from the wealthier inhabitants. But he was less successful, at first, in his application for horses and arms, since the harvest had been too faithfully gleaned already by the men of Chili. As, however, he prolonged his stay some time in the capital, he obtained important supplies before he left it, both

of arms and ammunition, while he added to his force by a considerable body of recruits.[12]

As he was thus employed, he received tidings that the enemy had left Cuzco and was on its march towards the coast. Quitting Los Reyes, therefore, with his trusty followers, Vaca de Castro marched at once to Xauxa, the appointed place of rendezvous. Here he mustered his forces, and found that they amounted to about seven hundred men. The cavalry, in which lay his strength, was superior in numbers to that of his antagonist, but neither so well mounted nor armed. It included many cavaliers of birth, and well-tried soldiers, besides a number who, having great interests at stake, as possessed of large estates in the country, had left them at the call of the governor to enlist under his banners.[13] His infantry, besides pikes, was indifferently well supplied with fire-arms; but he had nothing to show in the way of artillery except three or four ill-mounted falconets. Yet, notwithstanding these deficiencies, the royal army, if so insignificant a force can deserve that name, was so far superior in numbers to that of his rival that the one might be thought, on the whole, to be no unequal match for the other.[14]

[12] Declaracion de Uscategui, MS.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 1, cap. 1.—Carta de Barrio Nuevo, MS.—Carta de Benalcazar al Emperador, MS.

[13] The Municipality of Arequipa, most of whose members were present in the army, stoutly urged their claims to a compensation for thus promptly leaving their estates and taking up arms at the call of the governor. Without such reward, they say, their patriotic example will not often be followed. The document, which is important for its historical details, may be found in the Castillian, in Appendix No. 13.

[14] Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 15.—Carta de Barrio Nuevo, MS.—Carbajal notices the

The reader, familiar with the large masses employed in European warfare, may smile at the paltry forces of the Spaniards. But in the New World, where a countless host of natives went for little, five hundred well-trained Europeans were regarded as a formidable body. No army, up to the period before us, had ever risen to a thousand. Yet it is not numbers, as I have already been led to remark, that give importance to a conflict; but the consequences that depend on it, —the magnitude of the stake, and the skill and courage of the players. The more limited the means, even, the greater may be the science shown in the use of them; until, forgetting the poverty of the materials, we fix our attention on the conduct of the actors and the greatness of the results.

While at Xauxa, Vaca de Castro received an embassy from Gonzalo Pizarro, returned from his expedition from the "Land of Cinnamon," in which that chief made an offer of his services in the approaching contest. The governor's answer showed that he was not wholly averse to an accommodation with Almagro, provided it could be effected without compromising the royal authority. He was willing, perhaps, to avoid the final trial by battle, when he considered that, from the equality of the contending forces, the issue

politic manner in which his commander bribed recruits into his service,—paying them with promises and fair words when ready money failed him: "Dando á unos dineros, é á otros armas i caballos, i á otros palabras, i á otros promesas, i á otros graziosas respuestas de lo que con él negoziaban para tenerlos á todos muy conttentos i presttos en el servico de S. M. quando fuese menestter." Dicho del Capitan Francisco de Carbajal sobre la informacion hecha en el Cuzco en 1543, á favor de Vaca de Castro, MS.

must be extremely doubtful. He knew that the presence of Pizarro in the camp, the detested enemy of the Almagrians, would excite distrust in their bosoms that would probably baffle every effort at accommodation. Nor is it likely that the governor cared to have so restless a spirit introduced into his own councils. He accordingly sent to Gonzalo, thanking him for the promptness of his support, but courteously declined it, while he advised him to remain in his province and repose after the fatigues of his wearisome expedition. At the same time, he assured him that he would not fail to call for his services when occasion required it. The haughty cavalier was greatly disgusted by the repulse.[15]

The governor now received such an account of Almagro's movements as led him to suppose that he was preparing to occupy Guamanga, a fortified place of considerable strength, about thirty leagues from Xauxa.[16] Anxious to secure this post, he broke up his encampment, and by forced marches, conducted in so irregular a manner as must have placed him in great danger if his enemy had been near to profit by it, he succeeded in anticipating Almagro, and threw himself into the place, while his antagonist was at Bilcas, some ten leagues distant.

At Guamanga, Vaca de Castro received another embassy from Almagro, of similar import with the former. The young chief again deprecated the existence of hostilities between brethren of

[15] Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 15.
[16] Cieza de Leon, Cronica, cap. 85.

the same family, and proposed an accommodation of the quarrel on the same basis as before. To these proposals the governor now condescended to reply. It might be thought, from his answer, that he felt some compassion for the youth and inexperience of Almagro, and that he was willing to distinguish between him and the principal conspirators, provided he could detach him from their interests. But it is more probable that he intended only to amuse his enemy by a show of negotiation, while he gained time for tampering with the fidelity of his troops.

He insisted that Almagro should deliver up to him all those immediately implicated in the death of Pizarro, and should then disband his forces. On these conditions the government would pass over his treasonable practices, and he should be reinstated in the royal favor. Together with this mission, Vaca de Castro, it is reported, sent a Spaniard, disguised as an Indian, who was instructed to communicate with certain officers in Almagro's camp and prevail on them, if possible, to abandon his cause and return to their allegiance. Unfortunately, the disguise of the emissary was detected. He was seized, put to the torture, and, having confessed the whole of the transaction, was hanged as a spy.

Almagro laid the proceeding before his captains. The terms proffered by the governor were such as no man with a particle of honor in his nature could entertain for a moment; and Almagro's indignation, as well as that of his companions, was heightened by the duplicity of their

enemy, who could practise such insidious arts while ostensibly engaged in a fair and open negotiation. Fearful, perhaps, lest the tempting offers of their antagonist might yet prevail over the constancy of some of the weaker spirits among them, they demanded that all negotiation should be broken off, and that they should be led at once against the enemy.[17]

The governor, meanwhile, finding the broken country around Guamanga unfavorable for his cavalry, on which he mainly relied, drew off his forces to the neighboring lowlands, known as the Plains of Chupas. It was the tempestuous season of the year, and for several days the storm raged wildly among the hills, and, sweeping along their sides into the valley, poured down rain, sleet, and snow on the miserable bivouac of the soldiers, till they were drenched to the skin and nearly stiffened by the cold.[18] At length, on the sixteenth of September, 1542, the scouts brought in tidings that Almagro's troops were advancing, with the intention, apparently, of occupying the highlands around Chupas. The war of the elements had at last subsided, and was succeeded by one of those brilliant days which are found only in the tropics. The royal camp was early in motion, as Vaca de Castro, desirous to secure the

[17] Dicho del Capitan Francisco de Carbajal sobre la informacion hecha en el Cuzco en 1543, á favor de Vaca de Castro, MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 16.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 3, cap. 8.—Carta de Ventura Beltran, MS.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. 149.

[18] "Tuvieron tan gran tempestad de agua, Truenos, i Nieve, que pensaron perecer; i amaneciendo con dia claro, i sereno." Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 3, cap. 8.

heights that commanded the valley, detached a body of arquebusiers on that service, supported by a corps of cavalry, which he soon followed with the rest of the forces. On reaching the eminence, news was brought that the enemy had come to a halt and established himself in a strong position at less than a league's distance.

It was now late in the afternoon, and the sun was not more than two hours above the horizon. The governor hesitated to begin the action when they must so soon be overtaken by night. But Alonso de Alvarado assured him that "now was the time; for the spirits of his men were hot for fight, and it was better to take the benefit of it than to damp their ardor by delay." The governor acquiesced, exclaiming, at the same time, "Oh for the might of Joshua, to stay the sun in his course!" [19] He then drew up his little army in order of battle, and made his dispositions for the attack.

In the centre he placed his infantry, consisting of arquebusiers and pikemen, constituting the *battle*, as it was called. On the flanks he established his cavalry, placing the right wing, together with the royal standard, under charge of Alonso de Alvarado, and the left under Holguin, supported by a gallant body of cavaliers. His artillery, too insignificant to be of much account, was also in the centre. He proposed himself to lead the van, and to break the first lance with the

[19] "Y asi Vaca de Castro signió su parescer, temiendo toda via la falta del Dia, i dijo, que quisiera tener el poder de Josue, para detener el Sol." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 18.

enemy; but from this chivalrous display he was dissuaded by his officers, who reminded him that too much depended on his life to have it thus wantonly exposed. The governor contented himself, therefore, with heading a body of reserve, consisting of forty horse, to act on any quarter as occasion might require. This corps, comprising the flower of his chivalry, was chiefly drawn from Alvarado's troop, greatly to the discontent of that captain. The governor himself rode a coal-black charger, and wore a rich surcoat of brocade over his mail, through which the habit and emblems of the knightly order of St. James, conferred on him just before his departure from Castile, were conspicuous.[20] It was a point of honor with the chivalry of the period to court danger by displaying their rank in the splendor of their military attire and the caparisons of their horses.

Before commencing the attack, Vaca de Castro addressed a few remarks to his soldiers, in order to remove any hesitation that some might yet feel who recollected the displeasure shown by the emperor to the victors as well as the vanquished after the battle of Salinas. He told them that their enemies were rebels. They were in arms against him, the representative of the crown, and it was

[20] "I visto esto por el dicho señor Governador, mandó dar al arma á mui gran priesa, i mando á este testigo que sacase toda la gente al campo, i el se entró en su tienda á se armar, i dende á poco salió della encima de un cavallo morcillo rabicano armado en blanco i con una ropa de brocado encima de las armas con el abito de Santiago en los pechos." Dicho del Capitan Francisco de Carbajal sobre la informacion hecha en el Cuzco en 1543, á favor de Vaca de Castro, MS.

his duty to quell this rebellion and punish the authors of it. He then caused the law to be read aloud, proclaiming the doom of traitors. By this law, Almagro and his followers had forfeited their lives and property; and the governor promised to distribute the latter among such of his men as showed the best claim to it by their conduct in the battle. This last politic promise vanquished the scruples of the most fastidious; and, having completed his dispositions in the most judicious and soldier-like manner, Vaca de Castro gave the order to advance.[21]

As the forces turned a spur of the hills which had hitherto screened them from their enemies, they came in sight of the latter, formed along the crest of a gentle eminence, with their snow-white banners, the distinguishing color of the Almagrians, floating above their heads, and their bright arms flinging back the broad rays of the evening sun. Almagro's disposition of his troops was not unlike that of his adversary. In the centre was his excellent artillery, covered by his arquebusiers and spearmen; while his cavalry rode on the flanks. The troops on the left he proposed to lead in person. He had chosen his position with judgment, as the character of the ground gave full play to his guns, which opened an

[21] The governor's words, says Carbajal, who witnessed their effect, stirred the hearts of the troops, so that they went to the battle as to a ball: "En pocas palabras comprehendió tan grandes cosas que la gente de S. M. covró tan grande animo con ellas, que tan determinadamente se partieron de alli para ir á los enemigos como si fueron á fiestas donde estuvieran convidados." Dicho del Capitan Francisco de Carbajal sobre la informacion hecha en el Cuzco en 1543, á favor de Vaca de Castro, MS.

effective fire on the assailants as they drew near. Shaken by the storm of shot, Vaca de Castro saw the difficulty of advancing in open view of the hostile battery. He took the counsel, therefore, of Francisco de Carbajal, who undertook to lead the forces by a circuitous, but safer, route. This is the first occasion on which the name of this veteran appears in these American wars, where it was afterwards to acquire a melancholy notoriety. He had come to the country after the campaigns of forty years in Europe, where he had studied the art of war under the Great Captain, Gonsalvo de Cordova. Though now far advanced in age, he possessed all the courage and indomitable energy of youth, and well exemplified the lessons he had studied under his great commander.

Taking advantage of a winding route that sloped round the declivity of the hills, he conducted the troops in such a manner that until they approached quite near the enemy they were protected by the intervening ground. While thus advancing, they were assailed on the left flank by the Indian battalions under Paullo, the Inca Manco's brother; but a corps of musketeers, directing a scattering fire among them, soon rid the Spaniards of this annoyance. When at length the royal troops, rising above the hill, again came into view of Almagro's lines, the artillery opened on them with fatal effect. It was but for a moment, however, as, from some unaccountable cause, the guns were pointed at such an angle that, although presenting an obvious mark, by

far the greater part of the shot passed over their heads. Whether this was the result of treachery, or merely of awkwardness, is uncertain. The artillery was under charge of the engineer, Pedro de Candia. This man, who, it may be remembered, was one of the thirteen that so gallantly stood by Pizarro in the island of Gallo, had fought side by side with his leader through the whole of the Conquest. He had lately, however, conceived some disgust with him, and had taken part with the faction of Almagro. The death of his old commander, he may perhaps have thought, had settled all their differences, and he was now willing to return to his former allegiance. At least, it is said that at this very time he was in correspondence with Vaca de Castro. Almagro himself seems to have had no doubt of his treachery, for, after remonstrating in vain with him on his present conduct, he ran him through the body, and the unfortunate cavalier fell lifeless on the field. Then, throwing himself on one of the guns, Almagro gave it a new direction, and that so successfully that when it was discharged it struck down several of the cavalry.[22]

The firing now took better effect, and by one

[22] Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 17–19.—Naharro, Relacion sumaria, MS.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 3, cap. 11.—Dicho del Capitan Francisco de Carbajal sobre la informacion hecha en el Cuzco en 1543, á favor de Vaca de Castro, MS.—Carta del Cabildo de Arequipa al Emperador, MS.—Carta de Ventura Beltran, MS.—Declaracion de Uscategui, MS.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. 149.—According to Garcilasso, whose guns usually do more execution than those of any other authority, seventeen men were killed by this wonderful shot. See Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 3, cap. 16.

volley a whole file of the royal infantry was swept off, and, though others quickly stepped in to fill up the ranks, the men, impatient of their sufferings, loudly called on the troopers, who had halted for a moment, to quicken their advance.[23] This delay had been caused by Carbajal's desire to bring his own guns to bear on the opposite columns. But the design was quickly abandoned; the clumsy ordnance was left on the field, and orders were given to the cavalry to charge; the trumpets sounded, and, crying their war-cries, the bold cavaliers struck their spurs into their steeds and rode at full speed against the enemy.

Well had it been for Almagro if he had remained firm on the post which gave him such advantage. But, from a false point of honor, he thought it derogatory to a brave knight passively to await the assault, and, ordering his own men to charge, the hostile squadrons, rapidly advancing against each other, met midway on the plain. The shock was terrible. Horse and rider reeled under the force of it. The spears flew into shivers;[24] and the cavaliers, drawing their swords or wield-

[23] The officers drove the men, according to Zarate, at the point of their swords, to take the places of their fallen comrades: "Porque vn tiro llevo toda vna hilera, è hiço abrir el Escuadron, i los Capitanes pusieron gran diligencia en hacerlo cerrar, amenaçando de muerte à los Soldados, con las Espadas desenvainadas, i se cerrò." Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 1.

[24] "Se encontraron de suerte, que casi todas las lanças quebraron, quedando muchos muertos, i caidos de ambas partes." (Zarate, Conq. del Peru, ubi supra.) Zarate writes on this occasion with the spirit and strength of Thucydides. He was not present, but came into the country the following year, when he gleaned the particulars of the battle from the best-informed persons there, to whom his position gave him ready access.

ing their maces and battle-axes,—though some of the royal troopers were armed only with a common axe,—dealt their blows with all the fury of civil hate. It was a fearful struggle, not merely of man against man, but, to use the words of an eye-witness, of brother against brother, and friend against friend.[25] No quarter was asked; for the wrench that had been strong enough to tear asunder the dearest ties of kindred left no hold for humanity. The excellent arms of the Almagrians counterbalanced the odds of numbers; but the royal partisans gained some advantage by striking at the horses instead of the mailed bodies of their antagonists.

The infantry, meanwhile, on both sides, kept up a sharp cross-fire from their arquebuses, and did execution on the ranks of the cavaliers, as well as on one another. But Almagro's battery of heavy guns, now well directed, mowed down the advancing columns of foot. The latter, staggering, began to fall back from the terrible fire, when Francisco de Carbajal, throwing himself before them, cried out, "Shame on you, my men! Do you give way now? I am twice as good a mark for the enemy as any of you!" He was a very large man; and, throwing off his steel helmet and cuirass, that he might have no advantage over his

[25] It is the language of the Conquerors themselves, who, in their letter to the emperor, compare the action to the great battle of Ravenna: "Fue tan reñida i porfiada, que despues de la de Rebena, no se ha visto entre tan poca gente mas cruel batalla, donde hermanos á hermanos, ni deudos á deudos, ni amigos á amigos no se davan vida uno á otro." Carta del Cabildo de Arequipa al Emperador, MS.

followers, he remained lightly attired in his cotton doublet, when, swinging his partisan over his head, he sprang boldly forward through blinding volumes of smoke and a tempest of musket-balls, and, supported by the bravest of his troops, overpowered the gunners and made himself master of their pieces.

The shades of night had now for some time been coming thicker and thicker over the field. But still the deadly struggle went on in the darkness, as the red and white badges intimated the respective parties, and their war-cries rose above the din,—"Vaca de Castro y el Rey!"—"Almagro y el Rey!"—while both invoked the aid of their military apostle St. James. Holguin, who commanded the royalists on the left, pierced through by two musket-balls, had been slain early in the action. He had made himself conspicuous by a rich sobre-vest of white velvet over his armor. Still a gallant band of cavaliers maintained the fight so valiantly on that quarter that the Almagrians found it difficult to keep their ground.[26]

It fared differently on the right, where Alonso de Alvarado commanded. He was there encountered by Almagro in person, who fought in a manner worthy of his name. By repeated charges he endeavored to bear down his opponent's squadrons, so much worse mounted and worse armed than his own. Alvarado resisted

[26] The battle was so equally contested, says Beltran, one of Veca de Castro's captains, that it was long doubtful on which side victory was to incline: "I la batalla estuvo mui gran rato en peso sin conoscerse vitoria de la una parte á la otra." Carta de Ventura Beltran, MS.

with undiminished courage; but his numbers had been thinned, as we have seen, before the battle, to supply the governor's reserve, and, fairly overpowered by the superior strength of his adversary, who had already won two of the royal banners, he was slowly giving ground. "Take, but kill not!" shouted the generous young chief, who felt himself sure of victory.[27]

But, at this crisis, Vaca de Castro, who, with his reserve, had occupied a rising ground that commanded the field of action, was fully aware that the time had now come for him to take part in the struggle. He had long strained his eyes through the gloom to watch the movements of the combatants, and received constant tidings how the fight was going. He no longer hesitated, but, calling on his men to follow, led off boldly into the thickest of the mêlée to the support of his stout-hearted officer. The arrival of a new corps on the field, all fresh for action, gave another turn to the tide.[28] Alvarado's men took heart and rallied. Almagro's, though driven back by the fury of the attack, quickly returned against their assailants. Thirteen of Vaca de Castro's cavaliers fell dead from their saddles. But it was the last effort of the Almagrians. Their strength, though not their spirit, failed them. They gave way in

[27] "Gritaba, Victoria; i decia, Prender i no matar." Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 3, cap. 11.

[28] The letter of the municipality of Arequipa gives the governor credit for deciding the fate of the day by this movement, and the writers express their "admiration of the gallantry and courage he displayed, so little to have been expected from his age and profession." See the original in Appendix No. 13.

all directions, and, mingling together in the darkness, horse, foot, and artillery, they trampled one another down, as they made the best of their way from the press of their pursuers. Almagro used every effort to stay them. He performed miracles of valor, says one who witnessed them; but he was borne along by the tide, and, though he seemed to court death by the freedom with which he exposed his person to danger, yet he escaped without a wound.

Others there were of his company, and among them a young cavalier named Gerónimo de Alvarado, who obstinately refused to quit the field; and, shouting out, "We slew Pizarro! we killed the tyrant!" they threw themselves on the lances of their conquerors, preferring death on the battle-field to the ignominious doom of the gibbet.[29]

It was nine o'clock when the battle ceased, though the firing was heard at intervals over the field at a much later hour, as some straggling party of fugitives were overtaken by the pursuers. Yet many succeeded in escaping in the obscurity of night, while some, it is said, contrived to elude pursuit in a more singular way: tearing off the badges from the corpses of their enemies, they assumed them for themselves, and, mingling in the ranks as followers of Vaca de Castro, joined in the pursuit.

That commander, at length, fearing some un-

[29] "Se arrojaron en los Enemigos, como desesperados, hiriendo à todas partes, diciendo cada vno por su nombre: Yo soi Fulano, que matè al Marquès; i asi anduvieron hasta que los hicieron pedaços." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 19.

toward accident, and that the fugitives, should they rally again under cover of the darkness, might inflict some loss on their pursuers, caused his trumpets to sound, and recalled the scattered forces under their banners. All night they remained under arms on the field, which, so lately the scene of noisy strife, was now hushed in silence, broken only by the groans of the wounded and the dying. The natives, who had hung, during the fight, like a dark cloud, round the skirts of the mountains, contemplating with gloomy satisfaction the destruction of their enemies, now availed themselves of the obscurity to descend, like a pack of famished wolves, upon the plains, where they stripped the bodies of the slain, and even of the living but disabled wretches who had in vain dragged themselves into the bushes for concealment. The following morning, Vaca de Castro gave orders that the wounded—those who had not perished in the cold damps of the night—should be committed to the care of the surgeons, while the priests were occupied with administering confession and absolution to the dying. Four large graves or pits were dug, in which the bodies of the slain—the conquerors and the conquered—were heaped indiscriminately together. But the remains of Alvarez de Holguin and several other cavaliers of distinction were transported to Guamanga, where they were buried with the solemnities suited to their rank; and the tattered banners won from their vanquished countrymen waved over their monuments, the melancholy trophies of their victory.

The number of killed is variously reported,—from three hundred to five hundred on both sides.[30] The mortality was greatest among the conquerors, who suffered more from the cannon of the enemy before the action than the latter suffered in the rout that followed it. The number of wounded was still greater; and full half of the survivors of Almagro's party were made prisoners. Many, indeed, escaped from the field to the neighboring town of Guamanga, where they took refuge in the churches and monasteries. But their asylum was not respected, and they were dragged forth and thrown into prison. Their brave young commander fled, with a few followers only, to Cuzco, where he was instantly arrested by the magistrates whom he had himself placed over the city.[31]

At Guamanga, Vaca de Castro appointed a commission, with the Licentiate de la Gama at its head, for the trial of the prisoners; and *justice* was not satisfied till forty had been condemned to death, and thirty others—some of them with the

[30] Zarate estimates the number at three hundred. Uscategui, who belonged to the Almagrian party, and Garcilasso, both rate it as high as five hundred.

[31] The particulars of the action are gathered from Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Carta de Ventura Beltran, MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 17–20.—Naharro, Relacion sumaria, MS.—Dicho del Capitan Francisco de Carbajal sobre la informacion hecha en el Cuzco en 1543, á favor de Vaca de Castro, MS.—Carta del Cabildo de Arequipa al Emperador, MS.—Carta de Barrio Nuevo, MS.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. 149.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 3, cap. 15–18.—Declaracion de Uscategui, MS.—Many of these writers were personally present on the field; and it is rare that the details of a battle are drawn from more authentic testimony. The student of history will not be surprised that in these details there should be the greatest discrepancy.

loss of one or more of their members—sent into banishment.[32] Such severe reprisals have been too common with the Spaniards in their civil feuds. Strange that they should so blindly plunge into these, with this dreadful doom for the vanquished!

From the scene of this bloody tragedy the governor proceeded to Cuzco, which he entered at the head of his victorious battalions, with all the pomp and military display of a conqueror. He maintained a corresponding state in his way of living, at the expense of a sneer from some, who sarcastically contrasted this ostentatious profusion with the economical reforms he subsequently introduced into the finances.[33] But Vaca de Castro was sensible of the effect of this outward show on the people generally, and disdained no means of giving authority to his office. His first act was to determine the fate of his prisoner, Almagro. A council of war was held. Some were for sparing the unfortunate chief, in consideration of his youth and the strong provocation he had received. But the majority were of opinion that such mercy could not be extended to the leader of the rebels, and that his death was indispensable to the permanent tranquillity of the country.

[32] Declaracion de Uscategui, MS.—Carta de Ventura Beltran, MS. —Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 21.—The loyal burghers of Arequipa seem to have been well contented with these executions. "If night had not overtaken us," they say, alluding to the action, in their letter to the emperor, "your Majesty would have had no reason to complain; but what was omitted then is made up now, since the governor goes on quartering every day some one or other of the traitors who escaped from the field." See the original in Appendix No. 13.

[33] Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 4, cap. 1.

When led to execution in the great square of Cuzco,—the same spot where his father had suffered but a few years before,—Almagro exhibited the most perfect composure, though, as the herald proclaimed aloud the doom of the traitor, he indignantly denied that he was one. He made no appeal for mercy to his judges, but simply requested that his bones might be laid by the side of his father's. He objected to having his eyes bandaged, as was customary on such occasions, and, after confession, he devoutly embraced the cross, and submitted his neck to the stroke of the executioner. His remains, agreeably to his request, were transported to the monastery of La Merced, where they were deposited side by side with those of his unfortunate parent.[34]

There have been few names, indeed, in the page of history, more unfortunate than that of Almagro. Yet the fate of the son excites a deeper sympathy than that of the father; and this, not merely on account of his youth and the peculiar circumstances of his situation. He possessed many of the good qualities of the elder Almagro, with a frank and manly nature, in which the bearing of the soldier was somewhat softened by the refinement of a better education than is to be found in the license of a camp. His career, though short, gave promise of considerable talent, which required only a fair field for its development. But he was the child of misfortune,

[34] Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 21.—Naharro, Relacion sumaria, MS.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 6, cap. 1.

and his morning of life was overcast by clouds and tempests. If his character, naturally benignant, sometimes showed the fiery sparkles of the vindictive Indian temper, some apology may be found, not merely in his blood, but in the circumstances of his situation. He was more sinned against than sinning; and if conspiracy could ever find a justification it must be in a case like his, where, borne down by injuries heaped on his parent and himself, he could obtain no redress from the only quarter whence he had a right to look for it. With him the name of Almagro became extinct, and the faction of Chili, so long the terror of the land, passed away forever.

While these events were occurring in Cuzco, the governor learned that Gonzalo Pizarro had arrived at Lima, where he showed himself greatly discontented with the state of things in Peru. He loudly complained that the government of the country, after his brother's death, had not been placed in his hands; and, as reported by some, he was now meditating schemes for getting possession of it. Vaca de Castro well knew that there would be no lack of evil counsellors to urge Gonzalo to this desperate step; and, anxious to extinguish the spark of insurrection before it had been fanned by these turbulent spirits into a flame, he detached a strong body to Lima to secure that capital. At the same time he commanded the presence of Gonzalo Pizarro in Cuzco.

That chief did not think it prudent to disregard the summons, and shortly after entered the Inca capital, at the head of a well-armed body of

cavaliers. He was at once admitted into the governor's presence, when the latter dismissed his guard, remarking that he had nothing to fear from a brave and loyal knight like Pizarro. He then questioned him as to his late adventures in Canelas, and showed great sympathy for his extraordinary sufferings. He took care not to alarm his jealousy by any allusion to his ambitious schemes, and concluded by recommending him, now that the tranquillity of the country was re-established, to retire and seek the repose he so much needed, on his valuable estates at Charcas. Gonzalo Pizarro, finding no ground open for a quarrel with the cool and politic governor, and probably feeling that he was at least not now in sufficient strength to warrant it, thought it prudent to take the advice, and withdrew to La Plata, where he busied himself in working those rich mines of silver that soon put him in condition for a more momentous enterprise than any he had yet attempted.[35]

Thus rid of his formidable competitor, Vaca de Castro occupied himself with measures for the settlement of the country. He began with his army, a part of which he had disbanded. But many cavaliers still remained, pressing their demands for a suitable recompense for their services. These they were not disposed to undervalue, and the governor was happy to rid himself of their importunities by employing them on

[35] Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 4, cap. 1; lib. 6, cap. 3.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 22.

distant expeditions, among which was the exploration of the country watered by the great Rio de la Plata. The boiling spirits of the high-mettled cavaliers, without some such vent, would soon have thrown the whole country again into a state of fermentation.

His next concern was to provide laws for the better government of the colony. He gave especial care to the state of the Indian population, and established schools for teaching them Christianity. By various provisions he endeavored to secure them from the exactions of their conquerors, and he encouraged the poor natives to transfer their own residence to the communities of the white men. He commanded the caciques to provide supplies for the *tambos*, or houses for the accommodation of travellers, which lay in their neighborhood, by which regulation he took away from the Spaniards a plausible apology for rapine, and greatly promoted facility of intercourse. He was watchful over the finances, much dilapidated in the late troubles, and in several instances retrenched what he deemed excessive *repartimientos* among the Conquerors. This last act exposed him to much odium from the objects of it. But his measures were so just and impartial that he was supported by public opinion.[36]

Indeed, Vaca de Castro's conduct, from the hour of his arrival in the country, had been such as to command respect and prove him competent to the difficult post for which he had been selected.

[36] Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 22.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 6, cap. 2.

Without funds, without troops, he had found the country, on his landing, in a state of anarchy; yet, by courage and address, he had gradually acquired sufficient strength to quell the insurrection. Though no soldier, he had shown undaunted spirit and presence of mind in the hour of action, and made his military preparations with a forecast and discretion that excited the admiration of the most experienced veterans.

If he may be thought to have abused the advantages of victory by cruelty towards the conquered, it must be allowed that he was not influenced by any motives of a personal nature. He was a lawyer, bred in high notions of royal prerogative. Rebellion he looked upon as an unpardonable crime; and, if his austere nature was unrelenting in the exactions of justice, he lived in an iron age, when justice was rarely tempered by mercy.

In his subsequent regulations for the settlement of the country he showed equal impartiality and wisdom. The colonists were deeply sensible of the benefits of his administration, and afforded the best commentary on his services by petitioning the court of Castile to continue him in the government of Peru.[37] Unfortunately, such was not the policy of the crown.

[37] "I asi lo escrivieron al Rei la Ciudad del Cuzco, la Villa de la Plata, i otras Comunidades, suplicandole, que los dexase por Governador à Vaca de Castro, como Persona, que procedia con rectitud, i que ià entendia el Govierno de aquellos Reinos." Herrera, Hist. general, loc. cit.

CHAPTER VII

ABUSES BY THE CONQUERORS — CODE FOR THE COLONIES — GREAT EXCITEMENT IN PERU — BLASCO NUÑEZ THE VICEROY — HIS SEVERE POLICY — OPPOSED BY GONZALO PIZARRO

1543–1544

BEFORE continuing the narrative of events in Peru, we must turn to the mother-country, where important changes were in progress in respect to the administration of the colonies.

Since his accession to the crown, Charles the Fifth had been chiefly engrossed by the politics of Europe, where a theatre was opened more stimulating to his ambition than could be found in a struggle with the barbarian princes of the New World. In this quarter, therefore, an empire almost unheeded, as it were, had been suffered to grow up, until it had expanded into dimensions greater than those of his European dominions and destined soon to become far more opulent. A scheme of government had, it is true, been devised, and laws enacted from time to time, for the regulation of the colonies. But these laws were often accommodated less to the interests of the colonies themselves than to those of the parent country; and when contrived in a better spirit they were but imperfectly executed; for the voice of authority, however loudly proclaimed at home,

too often died away in feeble echoes before it had crossed the waters.

This state of things, and, indeed, the manner in which the Spanish territories in the New World had been originally acquired, were most unfortunate both for the conquered races and their masters. Had the provinces gained by the Spaniards been the fruit of peaceful acquisition,—of barter and negotiation,—or had their conquest been achieved under the immediate direction of the government, the interests of the natives would have been more carefully protected. From the superior civilization of the Indians in the Spanish American colonies, they still continued after the Conquest to remain on the ground, and to mingle in the same communities, with the white men; in this forming an obvious contrast to the condition of our own aborigines, who, shrinking from the contact of civilization, have withdrawn, as the latter has advanced, deeper and deeper into the heart of the wilderness. But the South American Indian was qualified by his previous institutions for a more refined legislation than could be adapted to the wild hunters of the forest; and had the sovereign been there in person to superintend his conquests he could never have suffered so large a portion of his vassals to be wantonly sacrificed to the cupidity and cruelty of the handful of adventurers who subdued them.

But, as it was, the affair of reducing the country was committed to the hands of irresponsible individuals, soldiers of fortune, desperate adventurers, who entered on conquest as a game, which

they were to play in the most unscrupulous manner, with little care but to win it. Receiving small encouragement from the government, they were indebted to their own valor for success; and the right of conquest, they conceived, extinguished every existing right in the unfortunate natives. The lands, the persons, of the conquered races were parcelled out and appropriated by the victors as the legitimate spoils of victory; and outrages were perpetrated every day, at the contemplation of which humanity shudders.

These outrages, though nowhere perpetrated on so terrific a scale as in the islands, where in a few years they had nearly annihilated the native population, were yet of sufficient magnitude in Peru to call down the vengeance of Heaven on the heads of their authors; and the Indian might feel that this vengeance was not long delayed, when he beheld his oppressors wrangling over their miserable spoil and turning their swords against each other. Peru, as already mentioned, was subdued by adventurers, for the most part, of a lower and more ferocious stamp than those who followed the banner of Cortés. The character of the followers partook in some measure of that of the leaders in their respective enterprises. It was a sad fatality for the Incas; for the reckless soldiers of Pizarro were better suited to contend with the fierce Aztec than with the more refined and effeminate Peruvian. Intoxicated by the unaccustomed possession of power, and without the least notion of the responsibilities which attached to their situation as masters of the land, they too

often abandoned themselves to the indulgence of every whim which cruelty or caprice could dictate. Not unfrequently, says an unsuspicious witness, I have seen the Spaniards, long after the Conquest, amuse themselves by hunting down the natives with bloodhounds for mere sport, or in order to train their dogs to the game![1] The most unbounded scope was given to licentiousness. The young maiden was torn without remorse from the arms of her family to gratify the passion of her brutal conqueror.[2] The sacred houses of the Virgins of the Sun were broken open and violated, and the cavalier swelled his harem with a troop of Indian girls, making it seem that the Crescent would have been a much more fitting symbol for his banner than the immaculate Cross.[3]

But the dominant passion of the Spaniard was the lust of gold. For this he shrank from no toil himself, and was merciless in his exactions of labor from his Indian slave. Unfortunately, Peru abounded in mines which too well repaid this labor; and human life was the item of least account in the estimate of the Conquerors. Under his Incas, the Peruvian was never suffered to be idle, but the task imposed on him was always pro-

[1] "Españoles hai que crian perros carniceros i los avezan á matar Indios, lo qual procuran á las veces por pasatiempo, i ver si lo hacen bien los perros." Relacion que dió el Provisor Morales sobre las cosas que convenian provarse en el Peru, MS.

[2] "Que los Justicias dan cedulas de Anaconas que por otros terminos los hacen esclavos é vivir contra su voluntad, diciendo: Por la presente damos licencia á vos Fulano, para que os podais servir de tal Indio ó de tal India é lo podais tomar é sacar donde quiera que lo hallaredes." Rel. del Provisor Morales, MS.

[3] "Es general el vicio del amancebamiento con Indias, i algunos tienen cantidad dellas como en serrallo." Ibid., MS.

portioned to his strength. He had his seasons of rest and refreshment, and was well protected against the inclemency of the weather. Every care was shown for his personal safety. But the Spaniards, while they taxed the strength of the native to the utmost, deprived him of the means of repairing it when exhausted. They suffered the provident arrangements of the Incas to fall into decay. The granaries were emptied; the flocks were wasted in riotous living. They were slaughtered to gratify a mere epicurean whim, and many a llama was destroyed solely for the sake of the brains,—a dainty morsel, much coveted by the Spaniards.[4] So reckless was the spirit of destruction after the Conquest, says Ondegardo, the wise governor of Cuzco, that in four years more of these animals perished than in four hundred in the times of the Incas.[5] The flocks, once so numerous over the broad table-lands, were now thinned to a scanty number, that sought shelter in the fastnesses of the Andes. The poor Indian, without food, without the warm fleece which furnished him a defence against the cold, now wandered half starved and naked over the plateau. Even those who had aided the Spaniards in the conquest fared no better; and many an Inca noble roamed a mendicant over the lands where he once

[4] "Muchos Españoles han muerto i matan increible cantidad de ovejas por comer solo los sesos, hacer pasteles del tuetano i candelas de la grasa. De ai hambre general." Rel. del Provisor Morales, MS.

[5] "Se puede afirmar que hicieron mas daño los Españoles en solos quatro años que el Inga en quatrocientos." Ondegardo, Rel. Seg., MS.

held rule, and if driven, perchance, by his necessities to purloin something from the superfluity of his conquerors, he expiated it by a miserable death.[6]

It is true, there were good men, missionaries, faithful to their calling, who wrought hard in the spiritual conversion of the native, and who, touched by his misfortunes, would gladly have interposed their arm to shield him from his oppressors.[7] But too often the ecclesiastic became infected by the general spirit of licentiousness; and the religious fraternities, who led a life of easy indulgence on the lands cultivated by their Indian slaves, were apt to think less of the salvation of their souls than of profiting by the labor of their bodies.[8]

[6] "Ahora no tienen que comer ni donde sembrar, i asi van á hurtallo como solian, delito por que han aorcado á muchos." Rel. del Provisor Morales, MS.—This and some of the preceding citations, as the reader will see, have been taken from the MS. of the Bachelor Luis de Morales, who lived eighteen or twenty years in Cuzco, and in 1541, about the time of Vaca de Castro's coming to Peru, prepared a Memorial for the government, embracing a hundred and nine chapters. It treats of the condition of the country, and the remedies which suggested themselves to the benevolent mind of its author. The emperor's notes on the margin show that it received attention at court. There is no reason, so far as I am aware, to distrust the testimony of the writer, and Muñoz has made some sensible extracts from it for his inestimable collection.

[7] Father Naharro notices twelve missionaries, some of his own order, whose zealous labors and miracles for the conversion of the Indians he deems worthy of comparison with those of the twelve Apostles of Christianity. It is a pity that history, while it has commemorated the names of so many persecutors of the poor heathen, should have omitted those of their benefactors: "Tomó su divina Magestad por instrumento 12 solos religiosos pobres, descalzos i desconocidos, 5 del orden de la Merced, 4 de Predicadores, i 3 de San Francisco, obraron lo mismo que los 12 apostles en la conversion de todo el universo mundo." Naharro, Relacion sumaria, MS.

[8] "Todos los conventos de Dominicos i Mercenarios tienen repartimientos. Ninguno dellos ha dotrinado ni convertido un Indio.

Yet still there were not wanting good and wise men in the colonies, who from time to time raised the voice of remonstrance against these abuses, and who carried their complaints to the foot of the throne. To the credit of the government, it must also be confessed that it was solicitous to obtain such information as it could, both from its own officers and from commissioners deputed expressly for the purpose, whose voluminous communications throw a flood of light on the internal condition of the country and furnish the best materials for the historian.[9] But it was found much easier to get this information than to profit by it.

In 1541, Charles the Fifth, who had been much occupied by the affairs of Germany, revisited his

Procuran sacar dellos quanto pueden, trabajarles en grangerias; con esto i con otras limosnas enriquecen. Mal egemplo. Ademas convendrá no pasen frailes sino precediendo diligente examen de vida i dotrina." (Relacion de las cosas que S. M. deve proveer para los reynos del Peru, embiada desde los Reyes á la Corte por el Licenciado Martel Santoyo, de quien va firmada en principios de 1542, MS.) This statement of the licentiate shows a different side of the picture from that above quoted from Father Naharro. Yet they are not irreconcilable. Human nature has both its lights and its shadows.

[9] I have several of these Memorials, or *Relaciones,* as they are called, in my possession, drawn up by residents in answer to queries propounded by government. These queries, while their great object is to ascertain the nature of existing abuses, and to invite the suggestion of remedies, are often directed to the laws and usages of the ancient Incas. The responses, therefore, are of great value to the historical inquirer. The most important of these documents in my possession is that by Ondegardo, governor of Cuzco, covering nearly four hundred folio pages, once forming part of Lord Kingsborough's valuable collection. It is impossible to peruse these elaborate and conscientious reports without a deep conviction of the pains taken by the crown to ascertain the nature of the abuses in the domestic government of the colonies, and its honest purpose to amend them. Unfortunately, in this laudable purpose it was not often seconded by the colonists themselves.

ancestral dominions, where his attention was imperatively called to the state of the colonies. Several memorials in relation to it were laid before him; but no one pressed the matter so strongly on the royal conscience as Las Casas, afterwards Bishop of Chiapa. This good ecclesiastic, whose long life had been devoted to those benevolent labors which gained him the honorable title of Protector of the Indians, had just completed his celebrated treatise on the Destruction of the Indians, the most remarkable record, probably, to be found of human wickedness, but which, unfortunately, loses much of its effect from the credulity of the writer and his obvious tendency to exaggerate.

In 1542, Las Casas placed his manuscript in the hands of his royal master. That same year a council was called at Valladolid, composed chiefly of jurists and theologians, to devise a system of laws for the regulation of the American colonies.

Las Casas appeared before this body, and made an elaborate argument, of which a part only has been given to the public. He there assumes, as a fundamental proposition, that the Indians were by the law of nature free; that, as vassals of the crown, they had a right to its protection, and should be declared free from that time, without exception and forever.[10] He sustains this propo-

[10] The perpetual emancipation of the Indians is urged in the most emphatic manner by another bishop, also a Dominican, but bearing certainly very little resemblance to Las Casas. Fray Valverde makes this one of the prominent topics in a communication, already cited, to the government, the general scope of which must be admitted to do more credit to his humanity than some of the passages recorded

sition by a great variety of arguments, comprehending the substance of most that has been since urged in the same cause by the friends of humanity. He touches on the ground of expediency, showing that without the interference of government the Indian race must be gradually exterminated by the systematic oppression of the Spaniards. In conclusion, he maintains that if the Indians, as it was pretended, would not labor unless compelled, the white man would still find it for his interest to cultivate the soil; and that if he should not be able to do so, that circumstance would give him no right over the Indian, since *God does not allow evil that good may come of it.*[11] This lofty morality, it will be remembered, was from the lips of a Dominican, in the sixteenth century, one of the order that founded the Inquisition, and in the very country where the fiery tribunal was then in most active operation![12]

The arguments of Las Casas encountered all the opposition naturally to be expected from

of him in history: "A V. M. representarán alla los conquistadores muchos servicios, dandolos por causa para que los dexe servir de los indios como de esclavos: V. M. se los tiene mui bien pagados en los provechos que han avido desta tierra, y no los ha de pagar con hazer á sus vasallos esclavos." Carta de Valverde al Emperador, MS.

[11] "La loi de Dieu défend de faire le mal pour qu'il en résulte du bien." Œuvres de Las Casas, évêque de Chiapa, trad. par Llorente (Paris, 1822), tom. i. p. 251.

[12] It is a curious coincidence that this argument of Las Casas should have been first published—in a translated form, indeed—by a secretary of the Inquisition, Llorente. The original still remains in MS. It is singular that these volumes, containing the views of this great philanthropist on topics of such interest to humanity, should not have been more freely consulted, or at least cited, by those who have since trod in his footsteps. They are an arsenal from which many a serviceable weapon for the good cause might be borrowed.

indifference, selfishness, and bigotry. They were also resisted by some persons of just and benevolent views in his audience, who, while they admitted the general correctness of his reasoning and felt deep sympathy for the wrongs of the natives, yet doubted whether his scheme of reform was not fraught with greater evils than those it was intended to correct. For Las Casas was the uncompromising friend of freedom. He intrenched himself strongly on the ground of natural right, and, like some of the reformers of our own day, disdained to calculate the consequences of carrying out the principle to its full and unqualified extent. His earnest eloquence, instinct with the generous love of humanity and fortified by a host of facts, which it was not easy to assail, prevailed over his auditors. The result of their deliberations was a code of ordinances, which, however, far from being limited to the wants of the natives, had particular reference to the European population, and the distractions of the country. It was of general application to all the American colonies. It will be necessary here only to point out some of the provisions having immediate reference to Peru.

The Indians were declared true and loyal vassals of the crown, and their freedom as such was fully recognized. Yet, to maintain inviolate the guarantee of the government to the Conquerors, it was decided that those lawfully possessed of slaves might still retain them; but at the death of the present proprietors they were to revert to the crown.

It was provided, however, that slaves, in any event, should be forfeited by all those who had shown themselves unworthy to hold them by neglect or ill usage; by all public functionaries, or such as had held offices under the government; by ecclesiastics and religious corporations; and, lastly,—a sweeping clause,—by all who had taken a criminal part in the feuds of Almagro and Pizarro.

It was further ordered that the Indians should be moderately taxed; that they should not be compelled to labor where they did not choose; and that where, from particular circumstances, this was made necessary, they should receive a fair compensation. It was also decreed that, as the *repartimientos* of land were often excessive, they should in such cases be reduced; and that where proprietors had been guilty of a notorious abuse of their slaves their estates should be forfeited altogether.

As Peru had always shown a spirit of insubordination, which required a more vigorous interposition of authority than was necessary in the other colonies, it was resolved to send a viceroy to that country, who should display a state and be armed with powers that might make him a more fitting representative of the sovereign. He was to be accompanied by a Royal Audience, consisting of four judges, with extensive powers of jurisdiction, both criminal and civil, who, besides a court of justice, should constitute a sort of council to advise with and aid the viceroy. The Audience of Panamá was to be dissolved, and the new

tribunal, with the vice-king's court, was to be established at Los Reyes, or Lima, as it now began to be called,—henceforth the metropolis of the Spanish empire on the Pacific.[13]

Such were some of the principal features of this remarkable code, which, touching on the most delicate relations of society, broke up the very foundations of property, and by a stroke of the pen, as it were, converted a nation of slaves into freemen. It would have required, we may suppose, but little forecast to divine that in the remote regions of America, and especially in Peru, where the colonists had been hitherto accustomed to unbounded license, a reform so salutary in essential points could be enforced thus summarily only at the price of a revolution. Yet the ordinances received the sanction of the emperor that same year, and in November, 1543, were published at Madrid.[14]

No sooner was their import known than it was conveyed by numerous letters to the colonists from their friends in Spain. The tidings flew like wildfire over the land, from Mexico to Chili. Men were astounded at the prospect of the ruin that awaited them. In Peru, particularly, there was scarcely one that could hope to escape the opera-

[13] The provisions of this celebrated code are to be found, with more or less—generally less—accuracy, in the various contemporary writers. Herrera gives them *in extenso*. Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 6, cap. 5.

[14] Las Casas pressed the matter home on the royal conscience, by representing that the Papal See had conceded the right of conquest to the Spanish sovereigns on the exclusive condition of converting the heathen, and that the Almighty would hold him accountable for the execution of this trust. Œuvres de Las Casas, ubi supra.

tion of the law. Few there were who had not taken part, at some time or other, in the civil feuds of Almagro and Pizarro; and still fewer of those that remained who would not be entangled in some one or other of the insidious clauses that seemed spread out, like a web, to ensnare them.

The whole country was thrown into commotion. Men assembled tumultuously in the squares and public places, and, as the regulations were made known, they were received with universal groans and hisses. "Is this the fruit," they cried, "of all our toil? Is it for this that we have poured out our blood like water? Now that we are broken down by hardships and sufferings, to be left at the end of our campaigns as poor as at the beginning? Is this the way government rewards our services in winning for it an empire? The government has done little to aid us in making the conquest, and for what we have we may thank our own good swords; and with these same swords," they continued, warming into menace, "we know how to defend it." Then, stripping up his sleeve, the war-worn veteran bared his arm, or, exposing his naked bosom, pointed to his scars, as the best title to his estates.[15]

[15] Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Pedro de Valdivia, MS., desde Los Reyes, 31 de Oct., 1538.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 5, cap. 1.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 6, cap. 10, 11.—Benalcazar, in a letter to Charles the Fifth, indulges in a strain of invective against the ordinances, which, by stripping the planters of their Indian slaves, must inevitably reduce the country to beggary. Benalcazar was a conqueror, and one of the most respectable of his caste. His argument is a good specimen of the reasoning of his party on this subject, and presents a decided counterblast to that of Las Casas. Carta de Benalcazar al Emperador, MS., desde Cali, 26 de Diciembre, 1544.

The governor, Vaca de Castro, watched the storm thus gathering from all quarters, with the deepest concern. He was himself in the very heart of disaffection; for Cuzco, tenanted by a mixed and lawless population, was so far removed in the depths of the mountains that it had much less intercourse with the parent country, and was consequently much less under her influence, than the great towns on the coast. The people now invoked the governor to protect them against the tyranny of the court; but he endeavored to calm the agitation by representing that by these violent measures they would only defeat their own object. He counselled them to name deputies to lay their petition before the crown, stating the impracticability of the present scheme of reform, and praying for the repeal of it; and he conjured them to wait patiently for the arrival of the viceroy, who might be prevailed on to suspend the ordinances till further advices could be received from Castile.

But it was not easy to still the tempest; and the people now eagerly looked for some one whose interests and sympathies might lie with theirs, and whose position in the community might afford them protection. The person to whom they naturally turned in this crisis was Gonzalo Pizarro, the last in the land of that family who had led the armies of the Conquest,—a cavalier whose gallantry and popular manners had made him always a favorite with the people. He was now beset with applications to interpose in their behalf with the government and shield them from the oppressive ordinances.

But Gonzalo Pizarro was at Charcas, busily occupied in exploring the rich veins of Potosí, whose silver fountains, just brought into light, were soon to pour such streams of wealth over Europe. Though gratified with this appeal to his protection, the cautious cavalier was more intent on providing for the means of enterprise than on plunging prematurely into it; and, while he secretly encouraged the malcontents, he did not commit himself by taking part in any revolutionary movement. At the same period he received letters from Vaca de Castro,—whose vigilant eye watched all the aspects of the time,—cautioning him and his friends not to be seduced, by any wild schemes of reform, from their allegiance. And, to check still further these disorderly movements, the governor ordered his alcaldes to arrest every man guilty of seditious language and bring him at once to punishment. By this firm yet temperate conduct the minds of the populace were overawed, and there was a temporary lull in the troubled waters, while all looked anxiously for the coming of the viceroy.[16]

The person selected for this critical post was a knight of Avila, named Blasco Nuñez Vela. He was a cavalier of ancient family, handsome in person, though now somewhat advanced in years, and reputed brave and devout. He had filled some offices of responsibility to the satisfaction of Charles the Fifth, by whom he was now

[16] Carta de Benalcazar al Emperador, MS., ubi supra.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, ubi supra.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1543.

appointed to this post in Peru. The selection did no credit to the monarch's discernment.

It may seem strange that this important place should not have been bestowed on Vaca de Castro, already on the spot, and who had shown himself so well qualified to fill it. But ever since that officer's mission to Peru there had been a series of assassinations, insurrections, and civil wars, that menaced the wretched colony with ruin; and, though his wise administration had now brought things into order, the communication with the Indies was so tardy that the results of his policy were not yet fully disclosed. As it was designed, moreover, to make important innovations in the government, it was thought better to send some one who would have no personal prejudices to encounter, from the part he had already taken, and who, coming directly from the court and clothed with extraordinary powers, might present himself with greater authority than could one who had become familiar to the people in an inferior capacity. The monarch, however, wrote a letter with his own hand to Vaca de Castro, in which he thanked that officer for his past services, and directed him, after aiding the new viceroy with the fruits of his large experience, to return to Castile and take his seat in the Royal Council. Letters of a similar complimentary kind were sent to the loyal colonists who had stood by the governor in the late troubles of the country. Freighted with these testimonials, and with the ill-starred ordinances, Blasco Nuñez embarked at San Lucar on the 3d of November, 1543. He

was attended by the four judges of the Audience, and by a numerous retinue, that he might appear in the state befitting his distinguished rank.[17]

About the middle of the following January, 1544, the viceroy, after a favorable passage, landed at Nombre de Dios. He found there a vessel laden with silver from the Peruvian mines, ready to sail for Spain. His first act was to lay an embargo on it for the government, as containing the proceeds of slave labor. After this extraordinary measure, taken in opposition to the advice of the Audience, he crossed the Isthmus to Panamá. Here he gave sure token of his future policy, by causing more than three hundred Indians, who had been brought by their owners from Peru, to be liberated and sent back to their own country.* This high-handed measure created the greatest sensation in the city, and was strongly resisted by the judges of the Audience. They besought him not to begin thus precipitately to execute his commission, but to wait till his arrival in the colony, when he should have taken time to acquaint himself somewhat with the country and with the temper of the people. But Blasco Nuñez

[17] Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 6, cap. 9.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 1, cap. 6.—Zarate, MS.

* [Cieza de Leon describes this act as "a just thing" in itself, but most disastrous to those whose wrongs it was intended to redress. Many of the Indians were attached to their masters, and so averse to returning that they had to be dragged from the churches and other places where they had taken refuge, and bound as captives in order to be restored to freedom. Many died on shipboard on their way back to Peru. Tercero Libro de las Guerras civiles, MS.—K.]

coldly replied that "he had come, not to tamper with the laws, nor to discuss their merits, but to execute them,—and execute them he would, to the letter, whatever might be the consequence." [18] This answer, and the peremptory tone in which it was delivered, promptly adjourned the debate; for the judges saw that debate was useless with one who seemed to consider all remonstrance as an attempt to turn him from his duty, and whose ideas of duty precluded all discretionary exercise of authority, even where the public good demanded it.

Leaving the Audience, as one of its body was ill, at Panamá, the viceroy proceeded on his way, and, coasting down the shores of the Pacific, on the fourth of March he disembarked at Tumbez. He was well received by the loyal inhabitants; his authority was publicly proclaimed, and the people were overawed by the display of a magnificence and state such as had not till then been seen in Peru. He took an early occasion to intimate his future line of policy by liberating a number of Indian slaves on the application of their caciques. He then proceeded by land towards the south, and showed his determination to conform in his own person to the strict letter of the ordinances, by causing his baggage to be carried by mules, where it was practicable; and where absolutely necessary

[18] "Estas y otras cosas le dixo el Licenciado Çarate: que no fueron al gusto del Virey: antes se enojò mucho por ello, y respondio con alguna aspereza: jurando, que auia de executar las ordenanças como en ellas se contenia: sin esperar para ello terminos algunos, ni dilaciones." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 1, cap. 6.

to make use of Indians, he paid them fairly for their services.[19]

The whole country was thrown into consternation by reports of the proceedings of the viceroy, and of his conversations, most unguarded, which were eagerly circulated, and, no doubt, often exaggerated. Meetings were again called in the cities. Discussions were held on the expediency of resisting his farther progress, and a deputation of citizens from Cuzco, who were then in Lima, strongly urged the people to close the gates of that capital against him. But Vaca de Castro had also left Cuzco for the latter city on the earliest intimation of the viceroy's approach, and, with some difficulty, he prevailed on the inhabitants not to swerve from their loyalty, but to receive their new ruler with suitable honors, and trust to his calmer judgment for postponing the execution of the law till the case could be laid before the throne.

But the great body of the Spaniards, after what they had heard, had slender confidence in the relief to be obtained from this quarter. They now turned with more eagerness than ever towards Gonzalo Pizarro, and letters and addresses poured in upon him from all parts of the country, inviting him to take on himself the office of their protector. These applications found a more favorable response than on the former occasion.*

[19] Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 5, cap. 2.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, ubi supra.—Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1544.

* [The first messages, according to Cieza de Leon, reached him in the middle of the night, warning him that the viceroy intended to

There were, however, many motives at work to call Gonzalo into action. It was to his family mainly that Spain was indebted for this extension of her colonial empire; and he had felt deeply aggrieved that the government of the colony should be trusted to other hands than his. He had felt this on the arrival of Vaca de Castro, and much more so when the appointment of a viceroy proved it to be the settled policy of the crown to exclude his family from the management of affairs. His brother Hernando still languished in prison, and he himself was now to be sacrificed as the principal victim of the fatal ordinances. For who had taken so prominent a part in the civil war with the elder Almagro? And the viceroy was currently reported—it may have been scandal—to have intimated that Pizarro would be dealt with accordingly.[20] Yet there was no one in the country who had so great

[20] "It was not fair," the viceroy said, "that the country should remain longer in the hands of muleteers and swineherds (alluding to the origin of the Pizarros), and he would take measures to restore it to the crown." "Que asi me la havia de cortar [la cabeza] á mi i á todos los que havian seido notablemente, como el decia, culpados en la batalla de las Salinas i en las diferencias de Almagro, i que una tierra como esta no era justo que estuviese en poder de gente tan vaxa que llamava el á los desta tierra porqueros i arrieros, sino que estuviese toda en la Corona real." Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.

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cut off his head; on which he remarked, "Juro á Nuestra Señora que yo se la cortaré á el primero," and, mounting before daylight, he hastened to Chaquí. Here he listened to the letters which poured in in such numbers that, when they subsequently fell into the hands of the President Gasca, three secretaries were employed continuously during four days in reading them,—a fact which seems to indicate that the Pizarros were themselves the only illiterate persons among the Conquerors. Gonzalo, however, still hesitated, and was often seen in tears. Guerras civiles, MS.—K.]

a stake, who had so much to lose by the revolution. Abandoned thus by the government, he conceived that it was now time to take care of himself.

Assembling some eighteen or twenty cavaliers in whom he most trusted, and taking a large amount of silver, drawn from the mines, he accepted the invitation to repair to Cuzco. As he approached this capital, he was met by a numerous body of the citizens, who came out to welcome him, making the air ring with their shouts, as they saluted him with the title of Procurator-General of Peru. The title was speedily confirmed by the municipality of the city, who invited him to head a deputation to Lima, in order to state their grievances to the viceroy and solicit the present suspension of the ordinances.

But the spark of ambition was kindled in the bosom of Pizarro. He felt strong in the affections of the people; and, from the more elevated position in which he now stood, his desires took a loftier and more unbounded range. Yet, if he harbored a criminal ambition in his breast, he skilfully veiled it from others,—perhaps from himself. The only object he professed to have in view was the good of the people;[21] a suspicious phrase, usually meaning the good of the individual. He now demanded permission to raise and organize an armed force, with the further title of Captain-General. His views

[21] "Diciendo que no queria nada para sino si, para el beneficio universal, i que por todos havia de poner todas sus fuerças." Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 7, cap. 20.

were entirely pacific; but it was not safe, unless strongly protected, to urge them on a person of the viceroy's impatient and arbitrary temper. It was further contended by Pizarro's friends that such a force was demanded, to rid the country of their old enemy the Inca Manco, who hovered in the neighboring mountains with a body of warriors, ready at the first opportunity to descend on the Spaniards. The municipality of Cuzco hesitated, as well it might, to confer powers so far beyond its legitimate authority. But Pizarro avowed his purpose, in case of refusal, to decline the office of Procurator; and the efforts of his partisans, backed by those of the people, at length silenced the scruples of the magistrates, who bestowed on the ambitious chief the military command to which he aspired. Pizarro accepted it with the modest assurance that he did so "purely from regard to the interests of the king, of the Indies, and, above all, of Peru"![22]

[22] "Acepté lo por ver que en ello hacia servicio á Dios i á S. M., i gran bien á esta tierra i generalmente á todas las Indias." Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 7, cap. 19, 20.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 5, cap. 4, 8.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 1, cap. 8.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1544.

CHAPTER VIII

THE VICEROY ARRIVES AT LIMA — GONZALO PIZARRO MARCHES FROM CUZCO—DEATH OF THE INCA MANCO—RASH CONDUCT OF THE VICEROY — SEIZED AND DEPOSED BY THE AUDIENCE — GONZALO PROCLAIMED GOVERNOR OF PERU

1544

WHILE the events recorded in the preceding pages were in progress, Blasco Nuñez had been journeying towards Lima. But the alienation which his conduct had already caused in the minds of the colonists was shown in the cold reception which he occasionally experienced on the route, and in the scanty accommodations provided for him and his retinue. In one place where he took up his quarters he found an ominous inscription over the door: "He that takes my property must expect to pay for it with his life."[1] Neither daunted nor diverted from his purpose, the inflexible viceroy held on his way towards the capital, where the inhabitants, preceded by Vaca de Castro and the municipal authorities, came out to receive him. He entered in great state, under a canopy of crimson cloth embroidered with the arms of Spain and supported by stout poles or staves of solid silver, which were borne by the

[1] "A quien me viniere à quitar mi hacienda, quitarle he la vida." Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 7, cap. 18.

members of the municipality. A cavalier, holding a mace, the emblem of authority, rode before him; and after the oaths of office were administered in the council-chamber the procession moved towards the cathedral, where *Te Deum* was sung, and Blasco Nuñez was installed in his new dignity of viceroy of Peru.[2]

His first act was to proclaim his determination in respect to the ordinances. He had no warrant to suspend their execution. He should fulfil his commission; but he offered to join the colonists in a memorial to the emperor soliciting the repeal of a code which he now believed would be for the interests neither of the country nor of the crown.[3] With this avowed view of the subject, it may seem strange that Blasco Nuñez should not have taken the responsibility of suspending the law until his sovereign could be assured of the inevi-

[2] "Entró en la cibdad de Lima á 17 de Mayo de 1544: saliole á recibir todo el pueblo á pie y á caballo dos tiros de ballesta del pueblo, y á la entrada de la cibdad estaba un arco triunfal de verde con las Armas de España, y las de la misma cibdad; estaban le esperando el Regimiento y Justicia, y oficiales del Rey con ropas largas, hasta en pies de carmesi, y un palio del mesmo carmesi aforrado en lo mesmo, con ocho baras guarnecidas de plata y tomaronle debajo todos á pie, cada Regidor y justicia con una bara del palio, y el Virrey en su caballo con las mazas delante tomaronle juramento en un libro misal, y juró de las guardar y cumplir todas sus libertades y provisiones de S. M.; y luego fueron desta manera hasta la iglesia, salieron los clerigos con la cruz á la puerta y le metieron dentro cantando *Te deum laudamus,* y despues que obo dicho su oracion, fué con el cabildo y toda la ciudad á su palacio donde fué recebido y hizo un parlamento breve en que contentó á toda la gente." Relacion de los sucesos del Peru desde que entró el virrey Blasco Nuñez acaecidos en mar y tierra, MS.

[3] "Porque llanamente el confesaba, que asi para su Magestad, como para aquellos Reinos, eran perjudiciales." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 5, cap. 5.

table consequences of enforcing it. The pacha of a Turkish despot, who had allowed himself this latitude for the interests of his master, might, indeed, have reckoned on the bowstring. But the example of Mendoza, the prudent viceroy of Mexico, who adopted this course in a similar crisis and precisely at the same period, showed its propriety under existing circumstances. The ordinances were suspended by him till the crown could be warned of the consequences of enforcing them; and Mexico was saved from revolution.[4] But Blasco Nuñez had not the wisdom of Mendoza.

The public apprehension was now far from being allayed. Secret cabals were formed in Lima, and communications held with the different towns. No distrust, however, was raised in the breast of the viceroy, and when informed of the preparations of Gonzalo Pizarro he took no other step than to send a message to his camp, announcing the extraordinary powers with which he was himself invested, and requiring that chief to disband his forces. He seemed to think that a mere word from him would be sufficient to dissipate rebellion. But it required more than a breath to scatter the iron soldiery of Peru.

Gonzalo Pizarro, meanwhile, was busily occupied in mustering his army. His first step was to order from Guamanga sixteen pieces of artillery, sent there by Vaca de Castro, who in the present state of excitement was unwilling to trust the volatile people of Cuzco with these implements

[4] Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 1, cap. 2–5.

of destruction. Gonzalo, who had no scruples as to Indian labor, appropriated six thousand of the natives to the service of transporting this train of ordnance across the mountains.[5]

By his exertions and those of his friends, the active chief soon mustered a force of nearly four hundred men, which, if not very imposing in the outset, he conceived would be swelled, in his descent to the coast, by tributary levies from the towns and villages on the way. All his own funds were expended in equipping his men and providing for the march; and to supply deficiencies he made no scruple—since, to use his words, it was for the public interest—to appropriate the moneys in the royal treasury. With this seasonable aid, his troops, well mounted and thoroughly equipped, were put in excellent fighting order; and, after making them a brief harangue, in which he was careful to insist on the pacific character of his enterprise, somewhat at variance with its military preparations, Gonzalo Pizarro sallied forth from the gates of the capital.

Before leaving it, he received an important accession of strength in the person of Francisco de Carbajal, the veteran who performed so conspicuous a part in the battle of Chupas. He was at Charcas when the news of the ordinances reached Peru; and he instantly resolved to quit the country and return to Spain, convinced that the New World would be no longer the land for him,—no longer the golden Indies. Turning his effects into money, he prepared to embark them on board

[5] Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 5, cap. 8.

the first ship that offered. But no opportunity occurred, and he could have little expectation now of escaping the vigilant eye of the viceroy. Yet, though solicited by Pizarro to take command under him in the present expedition, the veteran declined, saying he was eighty years old, and had no wish but to return home and spend his few remaining days in quiet.[6] Well had it been for him had he persisted in his refusal. But he yielded to the importunities of his friend; and the short space that yet remained to him of life proved long enough to brand his memory with perpetual infamy.

Soon after quitting Cuzco, Pizarro learned the death of the Inca Manco. He was massacred by a party of Spaniards, of the faction of Almagro, who, on the defeat of their young leader, had taken refuge in the Indian camp. They, in turn, were all slain by the Peruvians. It is impossible to determine on whom the blame of the quarrel should rest, since no one present at the time has recorded it.[7]

The death of Manco Inca, as he was commonly called, is an event not to be silently passed over in Peruvian history; for he was the last of his race that may be said to have been animated by the heroic spirit of the ancient Incas. Though placed on the throne by Pizarro, far from remaining a mere puppet in his hands, Manco soon showed that his lot was not to be cast with that of his

[6] Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 7, cap. 22.

[7] Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 4, cap. 7.

conquerors. With the ancient institutions of his country lying a wreck around him, he yet struggled bravely, like Guatemozin, the last of the Aztecs, to uphold her tottering fortunes, or to bury his oppressors under her ruins. By the assault on his own capital of Cuzco, in which so large a portion of it was demolished, he gave a check to the arms of Pizarro, and for a season the fate of the Conquerors trembled in the balance. Though foiled, in the end, by the superior science of his adversary, the young barbarian still showed the same unconquerable spirit as before. He withdrew into the fastnesses of his native mountains, whence, sallying forth as occasion offered, he fell on the caravan of the traveller, or on some scattered party of the military, and, in the event of a civil war, was sure to throw his own weight into the weaker scale, thus prolonging the contest of his enemies and feeding his revenge by the sight of their calamities. Moving lightly from spot to spot, he eluded pursuit amidst the wilds of the Cordilleras; and, hovering in the neighborhood of the towns, or lying in ambush on the great thoroughfares of the country, the Inca Manco made his name a terror to the Spaniards. Often did they hold out to him terms of accommodation; and every succeeding ruler, down to Blasco Nuñez, bore instructions from the crown to employ every art to conciliate the formidable warrior. But Manco did not trust the promises of the white man; and he chose rather to maintain his savage independence in the mountains, with the few brave spirits around him, than to live a slave in

the land which had once owned the sway of his ancestors.

The death of the Inca removed one of the great pretexts for Gonzalo Pizarro's military preparations; but it had little influence on him, as may be readily imagined. He was much more sensible to the desertion of some of his followers, which took place early on the march. Several of the cavaliers of Cuzco, startled by his unceremonious appropriation of the public moneys and by the belligerent aspect of affairs, now for the first time seemed to realize that they were in the path of rebellion. A number of these, including some principal men of the city, secretly withdrew from the army, and, hastening to Lima, offered their services to the viceroy. The troops were disheartened by this desertion, and even Pizarro for a moment faltered in his purpose, and thought of retiring with some fifty followers to Charcas and there making his composition with the government. But a little reflection, aided by the remonstrances of the courageous Carbajal, who never turned his back on an enterprise which he had once assumed, convinced him that he had gone too far to recede,—that his only safety was to advance.

He was reassured by more decided manifestations, which he soon after received, of the public opinion. An officer named Puelles, who commanded at Guanuco, joined him, with a body of horse with which he had been intrusted by the viceroy. This defection was followed by that of others, and Gonzalo, as he descended the sides of the table-land, found his numbers gradually

swelled to nearly double the amount with which he had left the Indian capital.

As he traversed with a freer step the bloody field of Chupas, Carbajal pointed out the various localities of the battle-ground, and Pizarro might have found food for anxious reflection, as he meditated on the fortunes of a rebel. At Guamanga he was received with open arms by the inhabitants, many of whom eagerly enlisted under his banner; for they trembled for their property, as they heard from all quarters of the inflexible temper of the viceroy.[8]

That functionary began now to be convinced that he was in a critical position. Before Puelles's treachery, above noticed, had been consummated, the viceroy had received some vague intimation of his purpose. Though scarcely crediting it, he detached one of his company, named Diaz, with a force to intercept him. But, although that cavalier undertook the mission with alacrity, he was soon after prevailed on to follow the example of his comrade, and, with the greater part of the men under his command, went over to the enemy. In the civil feuds of this unhappy land, parties changed sides so lightly that treachery to a commander had almost ceased to be a stain on the honor of a cavalier. Yet all, on whichever side they cast their fortunes, loudly proclaimed their loyalty to the crown.

Thus betrayed by his own men, by those appar-

[8] Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 1, cap. 14, 16.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 5, cap. 9, 10.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 8, cap. 5–9.—Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.—Relacion de los Sucesos del Peru, MS.

ently most devoted to his service, Blasco Nuñez became suspicious of every one around him. Unfortunately, his suspicions fell on some who were most deserving of his confidence. Among these was his predecessor, Vaca de Castro. That officer had conducted himself, in the delicate situation in which he had been placed, with his usual discretion, and with perfect integrity and honor. He had frankly communicated with the viceroy, and well had it been for Blasco Nuñez if he had known how to profit by it. But he was too much puffed up by the arrogance of office, and by the conceit of his own superior wisdom, to defer much to the counsels of his experienced predecessor. The latter was now suspected by the viceroy of maintaining a secret correspondence with his enemies at Cuzco,—a suspicion which seems to have had no better foundation than the personal friendship which Vaca de Castro was known to entertain for these individuals.* But, with Blasco Nuñez, to suspect was to be convinced; and he ordered De Castro to be placed under arrest and confined on board of a vessel lying in the harbor. This high-handed measure was followed by the arrest and imprisonment of several other cavaliers, probably on grounds equally frivolous.[9]

[9] Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 5, cap. 3.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 1, cap. 10.

* [Among the letters found at Cuzco after the death of Gonzalo Pizarro was one addressed to him by Vaca de Castro, dissuading him from his enterprise, exhorting him to remain quietly at home, "y otras cosas que no eran escritas con intencion tan mala como algunos han querido decir." This letter seems to have been converted by suspicious rumor into one of a precisely contrary purport. Cieza de Leon, Guerras civiles, MS.—K.]

He now turned his attention towards the enemy. Notwithstanding his former failure, he still did not altogether despair of effecting something by negotiation, and he sent another embassy, having the Bishop of Lima at its head, to Gonzalo Pizarro's camp, with promises of a general amnesty, and some proposals of a more tempting character to the commander. But this step, while it proclaimed his own weakness, had no better success than the preceding.[10]

The viceroy now vigorously prepared for war. His first care was to put the capital in a posture of defence, by strengthening its fortifications and throwing barricades across the streets. He ordered a general enrolment of the citizens, and called in levies from the neighboring towns,—a call not very promptly answered. A squadron of eight or ten vessels was got ready in the port to act in concert with the land-forces. The bells were taken from the churches and used in the manufacture of muskets;[11] and funds were procured from the fifths which had accumulated in the royal treasury. The most extravagant bounty was offered to the soldiers, and prices were paid for mules and horses which showed that gold, or rather silver, was the commodity of least value in

[10] Loaysa, the bishop, was robbed of his despatches, and not even allowed to enter the camp, lest his presence should shake the constancy of the soldiers. (Relacion de los Sucesos del Peru, MS.) The account occupies more space than it deserves in most of the authorities.

[11] "Hiço hacer gran Copia de Arcabuces, asi de Hierro, como de Fundicion, de ciertas Campanas de la Iglesia Maior, que para ello quitó." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 5, cap. 6.

Peru.[12] By these efforts, the active commander soon assembled a force considerably larger than that of his adversary. But how could he confide in it?

While these preparations were going forward, the judges of the Audience arrived at Lima. They had shown, throughout their progress, no great respect either for the ordinances or the will of the viceroy; for they had taxed the poor natives as freely and unscrupulously as any of the Conquerors. We have seen the entire want of cordiality subsisting between them and their principal in Panamá. It became more apparent on their landing at Lima. They disapproved of his proceedings in every particular; of his refusal to suspend the ordinances,—although, in fact, he had found no opportunity, of late, to enforce them; of his preparations for defence, declaring that he ought rather to trust to the effect of negotiation; and, finally, of his imprisonment of so many loyal cavaliers, which they pronounced an arbitrary act, altogether beyond the bounds of his authority; and they did not scruple to visit the prison in person and discharge the captives from their confinement.[13]

This bold proceeding, while it conciliated the

[12] Blasco Nuñez paid, according to Zarate, who had the means of knowing, twelve thousand ducats for thirty-five mules: "El Visorrei les mandó comprar, de la Hacienda Real, treinta i cinco Machos, en que hiciesen la Jornada, que costaron mas de doce mil ducados." (Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 5, cap. 10.) The South American of our day might well be surprised at such prices for animals since so abundant in his country.

[13] Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 1, cap. 10.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 8, cap. 2, 10.—Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.

good will of the people, severed at once all relations with the viceroy. There was in the Audience a lawyer named Cepeda, a cunning, ambitious man, with considerable knowledge in the way of his profession, and with still greater talent for intrigue. He did not disdain the low arts of a demagogue to gain the favor of the populace, and trusted to find his own account in fomenting a misunderstanding with Blasco Nuñez. The latter, it must be confessed, did all in his power to aid his counsellor in this laudable design.

A certain cavalier in the place, named Suarez de Carbajal, who had long held an office under the government, fell under the viceroy's displeasure, on suspicion of conniving at the secession of some of his kinsmen, who had lately taken part with the malecontents. The viceroy summoned Carbajal to attend him at his palace, late at night, and when conducted to his presence he bluntly charged him with treason. The latter stoutly denied the accusation, in tones as haughty as those of his accuser. The altercation grew warm, until, in the heat of passion, Blasco Nuñez struck him with his poniard. In an instant, the attendants, taking this as a signal, plunged their swords into the body of the unfortunate man, who fell lifeless on the floor.[14]

[14] "He struck him in the bosom with his dagger, as some say, but the viceroy denies it."—So says Zarate, in the *printed* copy of his history. (Lib. 5, cap. 11.) In the original manuscript of this work, still extant at Simancas, he states the fact without any qualification at all: "Luego el dicho Virrei echó mano á una daga, i arremetió con él, i le dió una puñalada, i á grandes voces mandó que le matasen." (Zarate, MS.) This was doubtless his honest conviction,

Greatly alarmed for the consequences of his rash act,—for Carbajal was much beloved in Lima,—Blasco Nuñez ordered the corpse of the murdered man to be removed by a private stairway from the house, and carried to the cathedral, where, rolled in his bloody cloak, it was laid in a grave hastily dug to receive it. So tragic a proceeding, known to so many witnesses, could not long be kept secret. Vague rumors of the fact explained the mysterious disappearance of Carbajal. The grave was opened, and the mangled remains of the slaughtered cavalier established the guilt of the viceroy.[15]

From this hour Blasco Nuñez was held in universal abhorrence; and his crime in this instance assumed the deeper dye of ingratitude, since the deceased was known to have had the greatest influence in reconciling the citizens early to his government. No one knew where the blow would fall next, or how soon he might himself become the victim of the ungovernable passions of the

when on the spot soon after the event occurred. The politic historian thought it prudent to qualify his remark before publication. —"They say," says another contemporary, familiar with these events and friendly to the viceroy, "that he gave him several wounds with his dagger." And he makes no attempt to refute the charge. (Relacion de los Sucesos del Peru, MS.) Indeed, this version of the story seems to have been generally received at the time by those who had the best means of knowing the truth.*

[15] Zarate, Conq. del Peru, ubi supra.

* [Cieza de Leon—on the whole the best authority—tells the story in the manner most unfavorable to the viceroy, who not only gave the first blow, but shouted to his attendants "to kill the knave," and inflicted "two other wounds" with his own hand. He ordered the body, before life was extinct, to be thrown down from the corridor. Some negroes subsequently carried it into a church and buried it. Guerras civiles, MS.—K.]

viceroy. In this state of things, some looked to the Audience, and yet more to Gonzalo Pizarro, to protect them.

That chief was slowly advancing towards Lima, from which, indeed, he was removed but a few days' march. Greatly perplexed, Blasco Nuñez now felt the loneliness of his condition. Standing aloof, as it were, from his own followers, thwarted by the Audience, betrayed by his soldiers, he might well feel the consequences of his misconduct. Yet there seemed no other course for him but either to march out and meet the enemy or to remain in Lima and defend it. He had placed the town in a posture of defence, which argued this last to have been his original purpose. But he felt he could no longer rely on his troops, and he decided on a third course, most unexpected.

This was to abandon the capital and withdraw to Truxillo, about eighty leagues distant. The women would embark on board the squadron, and, with the effects of the citizens, be transported by water. The troops, with the rest of the inhabitants, would march by land, laying waste the country as they proceeded. Gonzalo Pizarro, when he arrived at Lima, would find it without supplies for his army, and, thus straitened, he would not care to take a long march across a desert in search of his enemy.[16]

What the viceroy proposed to effect by this movement is not clear, unless it was to gain time; and yet the more time he had gained, thus far,

[16] Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 5, cap. 12.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 1, cap. 18.

the worse it had proved for him. But he was destined to encounter a decided opposition from the judges. They contended that he had no warrant for such an act, and that the Audience could not lawfully hold its sessions out of the capital. Blasco Nuñez persisted in his determination, menacing that body with force if necessary. The judges appealed to the citizens to support them in resisting such an arbitrary measure. They mustered a force for their own protection, and that same day passed a decree that the viceroy should be arrested.

Late at night, Blasco Nuñez was informed of the hostile preparations of the judges. He instantly summoned his followers, to the number of more than two hundred, put on his armor, and prepared to march out at the head of his troops against the Audience. This was the true course; for in a crisis like that in which he was placed, requiring promptness and decision, the presence of the leader is essential to insure success. But, unluckily, he yielded to the remonstrances of his brother and other friends, who dissuaded him from rashly exposing his life in such a venture.

What Blasco Nuñez neglected to do was done by the judges. They sallied forth at the head of their followers, whose number, though small at first, they felt confident would be swelled by volunteers as they advanced. Rushing forward, they cried out, "Liberty! Liberty! Long live the king and the Audience!" It was early dawn, and the inhabitants, startled from their slumbers, ran to the windows and balconies, and, learning the

object of the movement, some snatched up their arms and joined in it, while the women, waving their scarfs and kerchiefs, cheered on the assault.

When the mob arrived before the viceroy's palace, they halted for a moment, uncertain what to do. Orders were given to fire on them from the windows, and a volley passed over their heads. No one was injured; and the greater part of the viceroy's men, with most of the officers,—including some of those who had been so anxious for his personal safety,—now openly joined the populace. The palace was then entered, and abandoned to pillage. Blasco Nuñez, deserted by all but a few faithful adherents, made no resistance. He surrendered to the assailants, was led before the judges, and by them was placed in strict confinement. The citizens, delighted with the result, provided a collation for the soldiers; and the affair ended without the loss of a single life. Never was there so bloodless a revolution.[17]

The first business of the judges was to dispose of the prisoner. He was sent, under a strong guard, to a neighboring island, till some measures could be taken respecting him. He was declared to be deposed from his office; a provisional government was established, consisting of their own body, with Cepeda at its head, as president; and

[17] Relacion de los Suscesos del Peru, MS.—Relacion anonima, MS. —Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 1, cap. 19.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 5, cap. 11.—Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.—Gonzalo Pizarro devoutly draws a conclusion from this, that the revolution was clearly brought about by the hand of God for the good of the land: "E hizóse sin que muriose un hombre, ni fuese herido, como obra que Dios la guiava para el bien desta tierra." Carta, MS., ubi supra.

its first act was to pronounce the detested ordinances suspended till instructions could be received from the court. It was also decided to send Blasco Nuñez back to Spain with one of their own body, who should explain to the emperor the nature of the late disturbances and vindicate the measures of the Audience. This was soon put in execution. The Licentiate Alvarez was the person selected to bear the viceroy company; and the unfortunate commander, after passing several days on the desolate island, with scarcely any food, and exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, took his departure for Panamá.[18]

A more formidable adversary yet remained, in Gonzalo Pizarro, who had now advanced to Xauxa, about ninety miles from Lima. Here he halted, while numbers of the citizens prepared to join his banner, choosing rather to take service under him than to remain under the self-constituted authority of the Audience. The judges, meanwhile, who had tasted the sweets of office too short a time to be content to resign them, after considerable delay, sent an embassy to the Procurator. They announced to him the revolution that had taken place, and the suspension of the ordinances. The great object of his mission had been thus accomplished; and, as a new government was now organized, they called on him to show his obedience to it by disbanding his forces and withdrawing to the unmolested

[18] Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.—Relacion de los Sucesos del Peru, MS.—The story of the seizure of the viceroy is well told by the writer of the last MS., who seems here, at least, not unduly biased in favor of Blasco Nuñez, though a partisan.

enjoyment of his estates. It was a bold demand —though couched in the most courteous and complimentary phrase—to make of one in Pizarro's position. It was attempting to scare away the eagle just ready to stoop on his prey. If the chief had faltered, however, he would have been reassured by his lion-hearted lieutenant. "Never show faint heart," exclaimed the latter, "when you are so near the goal. Success has followed every step of your path. You have now only to stretch forth your hand and seize the government. Every thing else will follow." The envoy who brought the message from the judges was sent back with the answer that "the people had called Gonzalo Pizarro to the government of the country, and, if the Audience did not at once invest him with it, the city should be delivered up to pillage." [19]

The bewildered magistrates were thrown into dismay by this decisive answer. Yet, loath to resign, they took counsel, in their perplexity, of Vaca de Castro, still detained on board of one of the vessels. But that commander had received too little favor at the hands of his successors to think it necessary to peril his life on their account by thwarting the plans of Pizarro. He maintained a discreet silence, therefore, and left the matter to the wisdom of the Audience.

[19] Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 5, cap. 13.—It required some courage to carry the message of the Audience to Gonzalo and his desperate followers. The historian Zarate, the royal comptroller, was the envoy; not much, as it appears, to his own satisfaction. He escaped, however, unharmed, and has made a full report of the affair in his chronicle.

Meanwhile, Carbajal was sent into the city to quicken their deliberations. He came at night, attended only by a small party of soldiers, intimating his contempt of the power of the judges. His first act was to seize a number of cavaliers, whom he dragged from their beds and placed under arrest. They were men of Cuzco, the same already noticed as having left Pizarro's ranks soon after his departure from that capital. While the Audience still hesitated as to the course they should pursue, Carbajal caused three of his prisoners, persons of consideration and property, to be placed on the backs of mules and escorted out of town to the suburbs, where, with brief space allowed for confession, he hung them all on the branches of a tree. He superintended the execution himself, and tauntingly complimented one of his victims by telling him that, "in consideration of his higher rank, he should have the privilege of selecting the bough on which to be hanged!" [20] The ferocious officer would have proceeded still further in his executions, it is said, had it not been for orders received from his leader. But enough was done to quicken the perceptions of the Audience as to their course, for they felt their own lives suspended by a thread in such unscrupulous hands. Without further delay, therefore, they sent to invite Gonzalo Pizarro to enter the city, declaring that the security of the country and the

[20] "Le queria dar su muerte con una preëminencia señalada, que escogiese en qual de las Ramas de aquel Arbol queria que le colgasen." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 5, cap. 13.—See also Relacion anonima, MS.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 1, cap. 25.

general good required the government to be placed in his hands.[21]

That chief had now advanced within half a league of the capital, which soon after, on the twenty-eighth of October, 1544, he entered in battle-array. His whole force was little short of twelve hundred Spaniards, besides several thousand Indians, who dragged his heavy guns in the advance.[22] Then came the files of spearmen and arquebusiers, making a formidable corps of infantry for a colonial army; and lastly the cavalry, at the head of which rode Pizarro himself, on a powerful charger, gayly caparisoned. The rider was in complete mail, over which floated a richly-embroidered surcoat, and his head was protected by a crimson cap, highly ornamented,—his showy livery setting off his handsome, soldier-like person to advantage.[23] Before him was borne the

[21] According to Gonzalo Pizarro, the Audience gave this invitation in obedience to the demands of the representatives of the cities: "Y á esta sazon llegué yo á Lima, i todos los procuradores de las cibdades destos reynos suplicaron al Audiencia me hiciesen Governador para resistir los robos é fuerzas que Blasco Nuñez andava faciendo, i para tener la tierra en justicia hasta que S. M. proveyese lo que mas á su real servicio convenia. Los Oydores visto que asi convenia al servicio de Dios i al de S. M. i al bien destos reynos," etc. (Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.) But Gonzalo's account of himself must be received with more than the usual grain of allowance. His letter, which is addressed to Valdivia, the celebrated conqueror of Chili, contains a full account of the rise and progress of his rebellion. It is the best vindication, therefore, to be found of himself, and, as a counterpoise to the narratives of his enemies, is of inestimable value to the historian.

[22] He employed twelve thousand Indians on this service, says the writer of the Relacion anonima, MS. But this author, although living in the colonies at the time, talks too much at random to gain our implicit confidence.

[23] "Y el armado y con una capa de grana cubierta con muchas guarniciones de oro é con sayo de brocado sobre las armas." Re-

royal standard of Castile; for every one, royalist or rebel, was careful to fight under that sign. This emblem of loyalty was supported on the right by a banner emblazoned with the arms of Cuzco, and by another on the left displaying the armorial bearings granted by the crown to the Pizarros. As the martial pageant swept through the streets of Lima, the air was rent with acclamations from the populace, and from the spectators in the balconies. The cannon sounded at intervals, and the bells of the city—those that the viceroy had spared—rang out a joyous peal, as if in honor of a victory!

The oaths of office were duly administered by the judges of the Royal Audience, and Gonzalo Pizarro was proclaimed Governor and Captain-General of Peru till his Majesty's pleasure could be known in respect to the government. The new ruler then took up his quarters in the palace of his brother,—where the stains of that brother's blood were not yet effaced. *Fêtes*, bull-fights, and tournaments graced the ceremony of inauguration, and were prolonged for several days while the giddy populace of the capital abandoned themselves to jubilee, as if a new and more auspicious order of things had commenced for Peru![24]

lacion de los Sucesos del Peru, MS.—Also Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 5, cap. 13.

[24] For the preceding pages relating to Gonzalo Pizarro, see Relacion anonima, MS.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 1, cap. 25.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.—Zarate, loc. cit.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 8, cap. 16–19.—Relacion de los Sucesos del Peru, MS.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1544.

CHAPTER IX

MEASURES OF GONZALO PIZARRO—ESCAPE OF VACA DE CASTRO—REAPPEARANCE OF THE VICEROY—HIS DISASTROUS RETREAT—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF THE VICEROY—GONZALO PIZARRO LORD OF PERU

1544–1546

THE first act of Gonzalo Pizarro was to cause those persons to be apprehended who had taken the most active part against him in the late troubles. Several he condemned to death, but afterwards commuted the sentence, and contented himself with driving them into banishment and confiscating their estates.[1] His next concern was to establish his authority on a firm basis. He filled the municipal government of Lima with his own partisans. He sent his lieutenants to take charge of the principal cities. He caused galleys to be built at Arequipa to secure the command of the seas, and brought his forces into the best possible condition, to prepare for future emergencies.

The Royal Audience existed only in name; for its powers were speedily absorbed by the new

[1] Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—The honest soldier who tells us this was more true to his king than to his kindred. At least, he did not attach himself to Gonzalo's party, and was among those who barely escaped hanging on this occasion. He seeems to have had little respect for his namesake.

ruler, who desired to place the government on the same footing as under the marquis his brother. Indeed, the Audience necessarily fell to pieces, from the position of its several members. Alvarez had been sent with the viceroy to Castile. Cepeda, the most aspiring of the court, now that he had failed in his own schemes of ambition, was content to become a tool in the hands of the military chief who had displaced him. Zarate, a third judge, who had from the first protested against the violent measures of his colleagues, was confined to his house by a mortal illness;[2] and Tepeda, the remaining magistrate, Gonzalo now proposed to send back to Castile with such an account of the late transactions as should vindicate his own conduct in the eyes of the emperor. This step was opposed by Carbajal, who bluntly told his commander that "he had gone too far to expect favor from the crown, and that he had better rely for his vindication on his pikes and muskets!"[3]

But the ship which was to transport Tepeda was found to have suddenly disappeared from the port. It was the same in which Vaca de Castro was confined; and that officer, not caring to trust to the forbearance of one whose advances on a former occasion he had so unceremoniously repulsed, and convinced, moreover, that his own

[2] Zarate the judge must not be confounded with Zarate the historian, who went out to Peru with the Court of Audience as *contador real,* royal comptroller,—having before filled the office of secretary of the royal council in Spain.

[3] Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. 172.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 4, cap. 21.

presence could profit nothing in a land where he held no legitimate authority, had prevailed on the captain to sail with him to Panamá. He then crossed the Isthmus and embarked for Spain. The rumors of his coming had already preceded him, and charges were not wanting against him from some of those whom he had offended by his administration. He was accused of having carried measures with a high hand, regardless of the rights both of the colonist and of the native, and, above all, of having embezzled the public moneys and of returning with his coffers richly freighted to Castile. This last was an unpardonable crime.

No sooner had the governor set foot in his own country than he was arrested and hurried to the fortress of Arevalo; and, though he was afterwards removed to better quarters, where he was treated with the indulgence due to his rank, he was still kept a prisoner of state for twelve years, when the tardy tribunals of Castile pronounced a judgment in his favor. He was acquitted of every charge that had been brought against him, and, so far from peculation, was proved to have returned home no richer than he went. He was released from confinement, reinstated in his honors and dignities, took his seat anew in the royal council, and enjoyed, during the remainder of his days, the consideration to which he was entitled by his deserts.[4] The best eulogium on the wisdom of his administration was afforded by the

[4] Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 5, cap. 15.—Relacion anonima, MS. —Relacion de los Sucesos del Peru, MS.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1545.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 1, cap. 28.

troubles brought on the colonies by that of his successor. The nation became gradually sensible to the value of his services; though the manner in which they were requited by the government must be allowed to form a cold commentary on the gratitude of princes.

Gonzalo Pizarro was doomed to experience a still greater disappointment than that caused by the escape of Vaca de Castro, in the return of Blasco Nuñez. The vessel which bore him from the country had hardly left the shore when Alvarez, the judge, whether from remorse at the part which he had taken, or apprehensive of the consequences of carrying back the viceroy to Spain, presented himself before that dignitary and announced that he was no longer a prisoner. At the same time he excused himself for the part he had taken, by his desire to save the life of Blasco Nuñez and extricate him from his perilous situation. He now placed the vessel at his disposal, and assured him it should take him wherever he chose.

The viceroy, whatever faith he may have placed in the judge's explanation, eagerly availed himself of his offer. His proud spirit revolted at the idea of returning home in disgrace, foiled, as he had been, in every object of his mission. He determined to try his fortune again in the land, and his only doubt was on what point to attempt to rally his partisans around him. At Panamá he might remain in safety, while he invoked assistance from Nicaragua and other colonies at the north. But this would be to abandon his govern-

ment at once; and such a confession of weakness would have a bad effect on his followers in Peru. He determined, therefore, to direct his steps towards Quito, which, while it was within his jurisdiction, was still removed far enough from the theatre of the late troubles to give him time to rally and make head against his enemies.

In pursuance of this purpose, the viceroy and his suite disembarked at Tumbez, about the middle of October, 1544. On landing, he issued a manifesto setting forth the violent proceedings of Gonzalo Pizarro and his followers, whom he denounced as traitors to their prince, and he called on all true subjects in the colony to support him in maintaining the royal authority. The call was not unheeded; and volunteers came in, though tardily, from San Miguel, Puerto Viejo, and other places on the coast, cheering the heart of the viceroy with the conviction that the sentiment of loyalty was not yet extinct in the bosoms of the Spaniards.

But, while thus occupied, he received tidings of the arrival of one of Pizarro's captains on the coast, with a force superior to his own. Their number was exaggerated; but Blasco Nuñez, without waiting to ascertain the truth, abandoned his position at Tumbez, and, with as much expedition as he could make across a wild and mountainous country half buried in snow, he marched to Quito. But this capital, situated at the northern extremity of his province, was not a favorable point for the rendezvous of his followers; and, after prolonging his stay till he had received assurance from Benalcazar, the loyal

commander at Popayan, that he would support him with all his strength in the coming conflict, he made a rapid countermarch to the coast and took up his position at the town of San Miguel. This was a spot well suited to his purposes, as lying on the great high-road along the shores of the Pacific, besides being the chief mart for commercial intercourse with Panamá and the north.

Here the viceroy erected his standard, and in a few weeks found himself at the head of a force amounting to nearly five hundred in all, horse and foot, ill provided with arms and ammunition, but apparently zealous in the cause. Finding himself in sufficient strength to commence active operations, he now sallied forth against several of Pizarro's captains in the neighborhood, over whom he obtained some decided advantages, which renewed his confidence and flattered him with the hopes of re-establishing his ascendency in the country.[5]

During this time, Gonzalo Pizarro was not idle. He had watched with anxiety the viceroy's movements, and was now convinced that it was time to act, and that, if he would not be unseated himself, he must dislodge his formidable rival. He

[5] Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 5, cap. 14, 15.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 8, cap. 19, 20.—Relacion anonima, MS.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 1, cap. 23.—Relacion de los Sucesos del Peru, MS.—The author of the document last cited notices the strong feeling for the crown existing in several of the cities, and mentions also the rumor of a meditated assault on Cuzco by the Indians. The writer belonged to the discomfited party of Blasco Nuñez; and the facility with which exiles credit reports in their own favor is proverbial.

accordingly placed a strong garrison under a faithful officer in Lima, and, after sending forward a force of some six hundred men by land to Truxillo, he embarked for the same port himself, on the fourth of March, 1545, the very day on which the viceroy had marched from Quito.

At Truxillo, Pizarro put himself at the head of his little army and moved without loss of time against San Miguel. His rival, eager to bring their quarrel to an issue, would fain have marched out to give him battle; but his soldiers, mostly young and inexperienced levies, hastily brought together, were intimidated by the name of Pizarro. They loudly insisted on being led into the upper country, where they would be reinforced by Benalcazar; and their unfortunate commander, like the rider of some unmanageable steed to whose humors he is obliged to submit, was hurried away in a direction contrary to his wishes. It was the fate of Blasco Nuñez to have his purposes baffled alike by his friends and his enemies.

On arriving before San Miguel, Gonzalo Pizarro found, to his great mortification, that his antagonist had left it. Without entering the town, he quickened his pace, and, after traversing a valley of some extent, reached the skirts of a mountain-chain, into which Blasco Nuñez had entered but a few hours before. It was late in the evening; but Pizarro, knowing the importance of despatch, sent forward Carbajal with a party of light troops to overtake the fugitives. That captain succeeded in coming up with their lonely bivouac among the mountains at midnight, when

the weary troops were buried in slumber. Startled from their repose by the blast of the trumpet, which, strange to say, their enemy had incautiously sounded,[6] the viceroy and his men sprang to their feet, mounted their horses, grasped their arquebuses, and poured such a volley into the ranks of their assailants that Carbajal, disconcerted by his reception, found it prudent, with his inferior force, to retreat. The viceroy followed, till, fearing an ambuscade in the darkness of the night, he withdrew, and allowed his adversary to rejoin the main body of the army under Pizarro.

This conduct of Carbajal, by which he allowed the game to slip through his hands from mere carelessness, is inexplicable. It forms a singular exception to the habitual caution and vigilance displayed in his military career. Had it been the act of any other captain, it would have cost him his head. But Pizarro, although greatly incensed, set too high a value on the services and well-tried attachment of his lieutenant to quarrel with him. Still, it was considered of the last importance to overtake the enemy before he had advanced much farther to the north, where the difficulties of the ground would greatly embarrass the pursuit. Carbajal, anxious to retrieve his error, was accordingly again placed at the head of a corps of light troops, with instructions to harass the

[6] "Mas Francisco Caruajal q̄ los yua siguiendo, llegó quatro horas de la noche á dōde estauan: y con vna Trompeta que lleuaua les tocó arma: y sentido por el Virey se leuantó luego el primero." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 1, cap. 40.

enemy's march, cut off his stores, and keep him in check, if possible, till the arrival of Pizarro.[7]

But the viceroy had profited by the recent delay to gain considerably on his pursuers. His road led across the valley of Caxas, a broad, uncultivated district, affording little sustenance for man or beast. Day after day his troops held on their march through this dreary region, intersected with *barrancas* and rocky ravines that added incredibly to their toil. Their principal food was the parched corn, which usually formed the nourishment of the travelling Indians, though held of much less account by the Spaniards; and this meagre fare was reinforced by such herbs as they found on the way-side, which, for want of better utensils, the soldiers were fain to boil in their helmets.[8] Carbajal, meanwhile, pressed on them so close that their baggage, ammunition, and sometimes their mules, fell into his hands. The indefatigable warrior was always on their track, by day and by night, allowing them scarcely any repose. They spread no tent, and lay down in their arms, with their steeds standing saddled beside them; and hardly had the weary soldier closed his eyes when he was startled by the cry that the enemy was upon him.[9]

[7] Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, ubi supra.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 9, cap. 22.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., lib. 4, cap. 26.

[8] "Caminando, pues, comiendo algunas Jervas, que cocian en las Celadas, quando paraban à dar aliento a los Caballos." Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 9, cap. 24.

[9] "I sin que en todo el camino los vnos, ni los otros, quitasen las Sillas à los Caballos, aunque en este caso estaba mas alerta la Gente del Visorei, porque si algun pequeño rato de la Noche reposaban, era vestidos, i teniendo siempre los Caballos del Cabestro, sin esperar

At length the harassed followers of Blasco Nuñez reached the *depoblado*, or desert of Paltos, which stretches towards the north for many a dreary league. The ground, intersected by numerous streams, has the character of a great quagmire, and men and horses floundered about in the stagnant waters, or with difficulty worked their way over the marsh, or opened a passage through the tangled underwood that shot up in rank luxuriance from the surface. The wayworn horses, without food, except such as they could pick up in the wilderness, were often spent with travel, and, becoming unserviceable, were left to die on the road, with their hamstrings cut, that they might be of no use to the enemy; though more frequently they were despatched to afford a miserable banquet to their masters.[10] Many of the men now fainted by the way from mere exhaustion, or loitered in the woods, unable to keep up with the march. And woe to the straggler who fell into the hands of Carbajal, at least if he had once belonged to the party of Pizarro. The mere suspicion of treason sealed his doom with the unrelenting soldier.[11]

The sufferings of Pizarro and his troop were

à poner Toldos, ni à adereçar las otras formas, que se suelen tener para atar los Caballos de Noche." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 5, cap. 29.

[10] "I en cansandose el Caballo, le desjarretaba, i le dexaba, porque sus contrarios no se aprovechasen de èl." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, loc cit.

[11] "Had it not been for Gonzalo Pizarro's interference," says Fernandez, "many more would have been hung up by his lieutenant, who *pleasantly* quoted the old Spanish proverb, 'The fewer of our enemies the better.'" *De los enemigos, los menos.* Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 1, cap. 40.

scarcely less than those of the viceroy; though they were somewhat mitigated by the natives of the country, who, with ready instinct, discerned which party was the strongest, and, of course, the most to be feared. But, with every alleviation, the chieftain's sufferings were terrible. It was repeating the dismal scenes of the expedition to the Amazon. The soldiers of the Conquest must be admitted to have purchased their triumphs dearly.

Yet the viceroy had one source of disquietude greater perhaps than any arising from physical suffering. This was the distrust of his own followers. There were several of the principal cavaliers in his suite whom he suspected of being in correspondence with the enemy, and even of designing to betray him into their hands. He was so well convinced of this that he caused two of these officers to be put to death on the march; and their dead bodies, as they lay by the roadside, meeting the eye of the soldier, told him that there were others to be feared in these frightful solitudes besides the enemy in his rear.[12]

Another cavalier, who held the chief command under the viceroy, was executed, after a more formal investigation of his case, at the first place where the army halted. At this distance of time it is impossible to determine how far the suspicions of Blasco Nuñez were founded on truth. The

[12] "Los afligidos Soldados, que por el cansancio de los Caballos iban à pie con terrible angustia, por la persecucion de los Enemigos, que iban cerca, i por la fatiga de la hambre, quando vieron los Cuerpos de los dos Capitanes muertos en aquel camino quedaron atonitos." Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 9, cap. 25.

judgments of contemporaries are at variance.[13] In times of political ferment, the opinion of the writer is generally determined by the complexion of his party. To judge from the character of Blasco Nuñez, jealous and irritable, we might suppose him to have acted without sufficient cause. But this consideration is counterbalanced by that of the facility with which his followers swerved from their allegiance to their commander, who seems to have had so light a hold on their affections that they were shaken off by the least reverse of fortune. Whether his suspicions were well or ill founded, the effect was the same on the mind of the viceroy. With an enemy in his rear whom he dared not fight, and followers whom he dared not trust, the cup of his calamities was nearly full.

At length he issued forth on firm ground, and, passing through Tomebamba, Blasco Nuñez reentered his northern capital of Quito. But his reception was not so cordial as that which he had before experienced. He now came as a fugitive, with a formidable enemy in pursuit; and he was soon made to feel that the surest way to receive support is not to need it.

Shaking from his feet the dust of the disloyal city, whose superstitious people were alive to

[13] Fernandez, who held a loyal pen, and one sufficiently friendly to the viceroy, after stating that the officers whom the latter put to death had served him to that time with their lives and fortunes, dismisses the affair with the temperate reflection that men formed different judgments on it: "Sobre estas muertes uuo en el Perù varios y contrarios juyzios y opiniones, de culpa y de su descargo." (Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 1, cap. 41.) Gomara says, more unequivocally, "All condemned it." (Hist. de las Ind., cap. 167.) The weight of opinion seems to have been against the viceroy.

many an omen that boded his approaching ruin,[14] the unfortunate commander held on his way towards Pastos, in the jurisdiction of Benalcazar. Pizarro and his forces entered Quito not long after, disappointed that, with all his diligence, the enemy still eluded his pursuit. He halted only to breathe his men, and, declaring that "he would follow up the viceroy to the North Sea but he would overtake him,"[15] he resumed his march. At Pastos he nearly accomplished his object. His advance-guard came up with Blasco Nuñez as the latter was halting on the opposite bank of a rivulet. Pizarro's men, fainting from toil and heat, staggered feebly to the water-side to slake their burning thirst, and it would have been easy for the viceroy's troops, refreshed by repose and superior in number to their foes, to have routed them. But Blasco Nuñez could not bring his soldiers to the charge. They had fled so long before their enemy that the mere sight of him filled their hearts with panic, and they would have no more thought of turning against him than the hare would turn against the hound that pursues her. Their safety, they felt, was to fly, not to fight, and they profited by the exhaustion of their pursuers only to quicken their retreat.

Gonzalo Pizarro continued the chase some

[14] Some of these omens recorded by the historian—as the howling of dogs—were certainly no miracles: "En esta lamentable, i angustiosa partida, muchos afirmaron, haver visto por el Aire muchos Cometas, i que quadrillas de Perros andaban por las Calles, dando grandes i temerosos ahullidos, i los Hombres andaban asombrados, i fuera de si." Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 10, cap. 4.

[15] Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 10, cap. 4.

leagues beyond Pastos; when, finding himself carried farther than he desired into the territories of Benalcazar, and not caring to encounter this formidable captain at disadvantage, he came to a halt, and, notwithstanding his magnificent vaunt about the North Sea, ordered a retreat, and made a rapid countermarch on Quito. Here he found occupation in repairing the wasted spirits of his troops, and in strengthening himself with fresh reinforcements, which much increased his numbers; though these were again diminished by a body that he detached under Carbajal to suppress an insurrection which he now learned had broken out in the south. It was headed by Diego Centeno, one of his own officers, whom he established in La Plata, the inhabitants of which place had joined in the revolt and raised the standard for the crown. With the rest of his forces, Pizarro resolved to remain at Quito, awaiting the hour when the viceroy would re-enter his dominions; as the tiger crouches by some spring in the wilderness, patiently awaiting the return of his victims.

Meanwhile Blasco Nuñez had pushed forward his retreat to Popayan, the capital of Benalcazar's province. Here he was kindly received by the people; and his soldiers, reduced by desertion and disease to one-fifth of their original number, rested from the unparalleled fatigues of a march which had continued for more than two hundred leagues.[16] It was not long before he was joined

[16] This retreat of Blasco Nuñez may undoubtedly compare, if not in duration, at least in sharpness of suffering, with any expedition in the New World,—save, indeed, that of Gonzalo Pizarro himself

by Cabrera, Benalcazar's lieutenant, with a stout reinforcement, and, soon after, by that chieftain himself. His whole force now amounted to nearly four hundred men, most of them in good condition and well trained in the school of American warfare. His own men were sorely deficient both in arms and ammunition; and he set about repairing the want by building furnaces for manufacturing arquebuses and pikes.[17] One familiar with the history of these times is surprised to see the readiness with which the Spanish adventurers turned their hands to various trades and handicrafts usually requiring a long apprenticeship. They displayed the dexterity so necessary to settlers in a new country, where every man must become in some degree his own artisan. But this state of things, however favorable to the ingenuity of the artist, is not very propitious to the advancement of the art; and there can be little doubt that the weapons thus made by the soldiers of Blasco Nuñez were of the most rude and imperfect construction.

As week after week rolled away, Gonzalo Pizarro, though fortified with the patience of a Spanish soldier, felt uneasy at the protracted

to the Amazon. The particulars of it may be found, with more or less amplification, in Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 5, cap. 19, 29.—Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 7, lib. 9, cap. 20–26,—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 1, cap. 40, et seq.,—Relacion de los Sucesos del Peru, MS.,—Relacion anonima, MS.,—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1545.

[17] "Proveiò, que se tragese alli todo el hierro que se pudo haver en la Provincia, i buscò Maestros, i hiço adereçar Fraguas, i en breve tiempo se forjaron en ellas docientos Arcabuces, con todos sus aparejos." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 5, cap. 34.

stay of Blasco Nuñez in the north, and he resorted to stratagem to decoy him from his retreat. He marched out of Quito with the greater part of his forces, pretending that he was going to support his lieutenant in the south, while he left a garrison in the city under the command of Puelles, the same officer who had formerly deserted from the viceroy. These tidings he took care should be conveyed to the enemy's camp. The artifice succeeded as he wished. Blasco Nuñez and his followers, confident in their superiority over Puelles, did not hesitate for a moment to profit by the supposed absence of Pizarro. Abandoning Popayan, the viceroy, early in January, 1546, moved by rapid marches towards the south. But before he reached the place of his destination he became apprised of the snare into which he had been drawn. He communicated the fact to his officers; but he had already suffered so much from suspense that his only desire now was to bring his quarrel with Pizarro to the final arbitrament of arms.

That chief, meanwhile, had been well informed, through his spies, of the viceroy's movements. On learning the departure of the latter from Popayan, he had re-entered Quito, joined his forces with those of Puelles, and, issuing from the capital, had taken up a strong position about three leagues to the north, on a high ground that commanded a stream across which the enemy must pass. It was not long before the latter came in sight, and Blasco Nuñez, as night began to fall, established himself on the opposite bank of the rivulet. It was so near to the enemy's quarters

that the voices of the sentinels could be distinctly heard in the opposite camps, and they did not fail to salute one another with the epithet of "traitors." In these civil wars, as we have seen, each party claimed for itself the exclusive merit of loyalty.[18]

But Benalcazar soon saw that Pizarro's position was too strong to be assailed with any chance of success. He proposed, therefore, to the viceroy to draw off his forces secretly in the night, and, making a détour round the hills, to fall on the enemy's rear, where he would be least prepared to receive them. The counsel was approved; and no sooner were the two hosts shrouded from each other's eyes by the darkness than, leaving his camp-fires burning to deceive the enemy, Blasco Nuñez broke up his quarters and began his circuitous march in the direction of Quito. But either he had been misinformed or his guides misled him; for the roads proved so impracticable that he was compelled to make a circuit of such extent that dawn broke before he drew near the point of attack. Finding that he must now abandon the advantage of a surprise, he pressed forward to Quito, where he arrived with men and horses sorely fatigued by a night-march of eight leagues from a point which by the direct route would not have exceeded three. It was a fatal error on the eve of an engagement.[19]

[18] "Que se llegaron à hablar los Corredores de ambas partes, llamandose Traidores los vnos á los otros, fundando, que cada vno sustentaba la voz del Rei, i asi estuvieron toda aquella noche aguardando." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 5, cap. 34.

[19] For the preceding pages, see Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 5, cap. 34, 35,—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. 167,—Carta de Gonzalo

He found the capital nearly deserted by the men. They had all joined the standard of Pizarro; for they had now caught the general spirit of disaffection, and looked upon that chief as their protector from the oppressive ordinances. Pizarro was the representative of the people. Greatly moved at this desertion, the unhappy viceroy, lifting his hands to heaven, exclaimed, "Is it thus, Lord, that thou abandonest thy servants?" The women and children came out, and in vain offered him food, of which he stood obviously in need, asking him, at the same time, "why he had come there to die." His followers, with more indifference than their commander, entered the houses of the inhabitants, and unceremoniously appropriated whatever they could find to appease the cravings of appetite.

Benalcazar, who saw the temerity of giving battle in their present condition, recommended the viceroy to try the effect of negotiation, and offered himself to go to the enemy's camp and arrange, if possible, terms of accommodation with Pizarro. But Blasco Nuñez, if he had desponded

Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.,—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1546,—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 1, cap. 50–52.—Herrera, in his account of these transactions, has fallen into a strange confusion of dates, fixing the time of the viceroy's entry into Quito on the 10th of January, and that of his battle with Pizarro nine days later. (Hist. general, dec. 8, lib. 1, cap. 1.) This last event, which, by the testimony of Fernandez, was on the 18th of the month, was, by the agreement of such contemporary authorities as I have consulted,—as stated in the text,—on the evening of the same day in which the viceroy entered Quito. Herrera, though his work is arranged on the chronological system of annals, is by no means immaculate as to his dates. Quintana has exposed several anachronisms of the historian in the earlier period of the Peruvian conquest. See his Españoles célebres, tom. ii., Appendix No. 7.

for a moment, had now recovered his wonted constancy, and he proudly replied, "There is no faith to be kept with traitors. We have come to fight, not to parley; and we must do our duty like good and loyal cavaliers. I will do mine," he continued; "and be assured I will be the first man to break a lance with the enemy." [20]

He then called his troops together, and addressed to them a few words preparatory to marching. "You are all brave men," he said, "and loyal to your sovereign. For my own part, I hold life as little in comparison with my duty to my prince. Yet let us not distrust our success: the Spaniard, in a good cause, has often overcome greater odds than these. And we are fighting for the right: it is the cause of God,—the cause of God," [21] he concluded; and the soldiers, kindled by his generous ardor, answered him with huzzas that went to the heart of the unfortunate commander, little accustomed of late to this display of enthusiasm.

It was the 18th of January, 1546, when Blasco Nuñez marched out at the head of his array from the ancient city of Quito. He had proceeded but a mile [22] when he came in view of the enemy formed along the crest of some high lands which, by a gentle swell rose gradually from the plains

[20] "Yo os prometo, que la primera lãça que se rompa en los enemigos, sea la mia (y assi lo cumplio)." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 1, cap. 53.

[21] "Que de Dios es la causa, de Dios es la causa, de Dios es la causa." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 5, cap. 35.

[22] "Un quarto de legua de la ciudad." Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.

of Añaquito. Gonzalo Pizarro, greatly chagrined on ascertaining the departure of the viceroy, early in the morning had broken up his camp and directed his march on the capital, fully resolved that his enemy should not escape him.

The viceroy's troops, now coming to a halt, were formed in order of battle. A small body of arquebusiers was stationed in the advance to begin the fight. The remainder of that corps was distributed among the spearmen, who occupied the centre, protected on the flanks by the horse, drawn up in two nearly equal squadrons. The cavalry amounted to about one hundred and forty, being little inferior to that on the other side, though the whole number of the viceroy's forces, being less than four hundred, did not much exceed the half of the rival's. On the right, and in front of the royal banner, Blasco Nuñez, supported by thirteen chosen cavaliers, took his station, prepared to head the attack.

Pizarro had formed his troops in a corresponding manner with that of his adversary. They mustered about seven hundred in all, well appointed, in good condition, and officered by the best knights in Peru.[23] As, notwithstanding his superiority of numbers, Pizarro did not seem inclined to abandon his advantageous position,

[23] The amount of the numbers on both sides is variously given, as usual, making, however, more than the usual difference in the relative proportions, since the sum total is so small. I have conformed to the statements of the best-instructed writers. Pizarro estimates his adversary's force at four hundred and fifty men, and his own at only six hundred,—an estimate, it may be remarked, that does not make that given in the text any less credible.

Blasco Nuñez gave orders to advance. The action commenced with the arquebusiers, and in a few moments the dense clouds of smoke, rolling over the field, obscured every object; for it was late in the day, and the light was rapidly fading.

The infantry, levelling their pikes, now advanced under cover of the smoke, and were soon hotly engaged with the opposite files of spearmen. Then came the charge of the cavalry, which—notwithstanding they were thrown into some disorder by the fire of Pizarro's arquebusiers, far superior in number to their own—was conducted with such spirit that the enemy's horse was compelled to reel and fall back before it. But it was only to gather up their strength, and, like an overwhelming wave, Pizarro's troopers rushed on their foes, driving them along the slope and bearing down man and horse in indiscriminate ruin. Yet these, in turn, at length rallied, cheered on by the cries and desperate efforts of their officers. The lances were shivered, and they fought hand to hand with swords and battle-axes mingled together in wild confusion. But the struggle was of no long duration; for, though the numbers were nearly equal, the viceroy's cavalry, jaded by the severe march of the previous night,[24] were no match for their antagonists. The ground was strewn with the wreck of their bodies; and horses and riders, the dead and the dying, lay heaped on one another. Cabrera, the brave lieutenant of Benalcazar, was slain, and that commander was thrown under

[24] Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 5, cap. 35.

his horse's feet, covered with wounds, and left for dead on the field. Alvarez, the judge, was mortally wounded. Both he and his colleague Cepeda were in the action, though ranged on opposite sides, fighting as if they had been bred to arms, not to the peaceful profession of the law.

Yet Blasco Nuñez and his companions maintained a brave struggle on the right of the field. The viceroy had kept his word by being the first to break his lance against the enemy, and by a well-directed blow had borne a cavalier, named Alonso de Montalvo, clean out of his saddle. But he was at length overwhelmed by numbers, and, as his companions one after another fell by his side, he was left nearly unprotected. He was already wounded, when a blow on the head from the battle-axe of a soldier struck him from his horse, and he fell stunned on the ground. Had his person been known, he might have been taken alive; but he wore a sobre-vest of Indian cotton over his armor, which concealed the military order of St. James and the other badges of his rank.[25]

[25] He wore this dress, says Garcilasso de la Vega, that he might fair no better than a common soldier, but take his chance with the rest. (Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 4, cap. 34.) Pizarro gives him credit for no such magnanimous intent. According to him, the viceroy assumed this disguise that, his rank being unknown, he might have the better chance for escape.* It must be confessed that this is the general motive for a disguise. "I Blasco Nuñez puso mucha diligencia por poder huirse si pudiera, porque venia vestido con una camiseta de Yndios por no ser conocido, i no quiso Dios porque pagase quantos males por su causa se havian hecho." Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.

* [The Spanish cavaliers, for the most part, made it a point of honor to go into battle with all the badges of their rank conspicuously displayed. They courted danger instead of shunning it.—M.]

His person, however, was soon recognized by one of Pizarro's followers, who not improbably had once followed the viceroy's banner. The soldier immediately pointed him out to the Licentiate Carbajal. This person was the brother of the cavalier whom, as the reader may remember, Blasco Nuñez had so rashly put to death in his palace at Lima. The licentiate had afterwards taken service under Pizarro, and, with several of his kindred, was pledged to take vengeance on the viceroy. Instantly riding up, he taunted the fallen commander with the murder of his brother, and was in the act of dismounting to despatch him with his own hand, when Puelles, remonstrating on this, as an act of degradation, commanded one of his attendants, a black slave, to cut off the viceroy's head. This the fellow executed with a single stroke of his sabre, while the wretched man, perhaps then dying of his wounds, uttered no word, but, with eyes imploringly turned up towards heaven, received the fatal blow.[26] The head was then borne aloft on a pike, and some were brutal enough to pluck out the gray hairs from the beard and set them in their caps, as grisly trophies of their victory.[27] The fate of the day

[26] Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 1, cap. 54.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 5, cap. 35.—"Mandò à un Negro que trala, que le cortase la Cabeça, i en todo esto no se conoció flaqueça en el Visorrei, ni hablò palabra, ni hiço mas movimiento, que alçar los ojos al Cielo, dando muestras de mucha Christiandad, i constancia." Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 8, lib. 1, cap. 3.

[27] "Aviendo algunos capitanes y personas arrancado y pelado algunas de sus blancas y leales baruas, para traer por empresa, y Juã de la Torre las traxo despues publicamente en la gorra por la ciudad de los Reyes." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 1, cap. 54.

was now decided. Yet still the infantry made a brave stand, keeping Pizarro's horse at bay with their bristling array of pikes. But their numbers were thinned by the arquebusiers; and, thrown into disorder, they could no longer resist the onset of the horse, who broke into their column and soon scattered and drove them off the ground. The pursuit was neither long nor bloody; for darkness came on, and Pizarro bade his trumpets sound, to call his men together under their banners.

Though the action lasted but a short time, nearly one-third of the viceroy's troops had perished. The loss of their opponents was inconsiderable.[28] Several of the vanquished cavaliers took refuge in the churches of Quito. But they were dragged from the sanctuary, and some —probably those who had once espoused the cause of Pizarro—were led to execution, and others banished to Chili. The greater part were pardoned by the conqueror. Benalcazar, who recovered from his wounds, was permitted to return to his government, on condition of no more bearing arms against Pizarro. His troops were invited to take service under the banner of the victor, who, however, never treated them with the confidence shown to his ancient partisans. He was greatly displeased at the indignities offered to the viceroy, whose mangled remains he caused to be

[28] The estimates of killed and wounded in this action are as discordant as usual. Some carry the viceroy's loss to two hundred, while Gonzalo Pizarro rates his own at only seven killed and but a few wounded. But how rarely is it that a faithful bulletin is issued by the parties engaged in the action!

buried, with the honors due to his rank, in the cathedral at Quito. Gonzalo Pizarro, attired in black, walked as chief mourner in the procession. It was usual with the Pizarros, as we have seen, to pay these obituary honors to their victims.[29]

Such was the sad end of Blasco Nuñez Vela, first viceroy of Peru. It was less than two years since he had set foot in the country, a period of unmitigated disaster and disgrace. His misfortunes may be imputed partly to circumstances and partly to his own character. The minister of an odious and oppressive law, he was intrusted with no discretionary power in the execution of it.[30] Yet every man may, to a certain extent, claim the right to such a power; since to execute a commission which circumstances show must certainly

[29] For the accounts of the battle of Añaquito, rather summarily despatched by most writers, see Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. 170.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 8, lib. 1, cap. 1–3.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 5, cap. 35.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1546.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 4, cap. 33–35.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 1, cap. 53, 54.—Gonzalo Pizarro seems to regard the battle as a sort of judicial trial by combat, in which Heaven, by the result, plainly indicated the right. His remarks are edifying: "Por donde parecerá claramente que Nuestro Señor fué servido este se viniese á meter en las manos para quitarnos de tantos cuidados, i que pagase quantos males havia fecho en la tierra, la qual quedó tan asosegada i tan en paz i servicio de S. M. como lo estuvo en tiempo del Marques mi hermano." Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.

[30] Garcilasso's reflections on this point are commendably tolerant: "Assi acabò este buen cauallero, por querer porfiar tanto en la execucion de lo que ni a su Rey ni a aquel Reyno conuenia: donde se causaron tantas muertes y daños de Españoles, y de Yndios; aunque no tuuo tanta culpa como se le atribuye, porque lleuó preciso mandato de lo que hizó." Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 4, cap. 34.

defeat the object for which it was designed would be absurd. But it requires sagacity to determine the existence of such a contingency, and moral courage to assume the responsibility of acting on it. Such a crisis is the severest test of character. To dare to disobey from a paramount sense of duty is a paradox that a little soul can hardly comprehend. Unfortunately, Blasco Nuñez was a pedantic martinet, a man of narrow views, who could not feel himself authorized under any circumstances to swerve from the letter of the law. Puffed up by his brief authority, moreover, he considered opposition to the ordinances as treason to himself; and thus, identifying himself with his commission, he was prompted by personal feelings quite as much as by those of a public and patriotic nature.

Neither was the viceroy's character of a kind that tended to mitigate the odium of his measures and reconcile the people to their execution. It afforded a strong contrast to that of his rival Pizarro, whose frank, chivalrous bearing, and generous confidence in his followers, made him universally popular, blinding their judgments and giving to the worse the semblance of the better cause. Blasco Nuñez, on the contrary, irritable and suspicious, placed himself in a false position with all whom he approached; for a suspicious temper creates an atmosphere of distrust around it that kills every kindly affection. His first step was to alienate the members of the Audience who were sent to act in concert with him. But this was their fault as well as his, since they were as much

too lax as he was too severe in the interpretation of the law.[31] He next alienated and outraged the people whom he was appointed to govern. And, lastly, he disgusted his own friends, and too often turned them into enemies; so that in his final struggle for power and for existence he was obliged to rely on the arm of the stranger. Yet in the catalogue of his qualities we must not pass in silence over his virtues. There are two to the credit of which he is undeniably entitled,—a loyalty which shone the brighter amidst the general defection around him, and a constancy under misfortune which might challenge the respect even of his enemies. But, with the most liberal allowance for his merits, it can scarcely be doubted that a person more incompetent to the task assigned him could not have been found in Castile.[32]

The victory of Añaquito was received with general joy in the neighboring capital: all the cities of Peru looked on it as sealing the downfall of

[31] Blasco Nuñez characterized the four judges of the Audience in a manner more concise than complimentary,—a boy, a madman, a booby, and a dunce! "Decia muchas veces Blasco Nuñez, que le havian dado el Emperador i su Consejo de Indias vn Moço, un Loco, un Necio, vn Tonto por Oìdores, que asi lo havian hecho como ellos eran. Moço era Cepeda, i llamaba Loco à Juan Alvarez, i Necio à Tejada, que no sabia Latin." Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. 171.

[32] The account of Blasco Nuñez Vela rests chiefly on the authority of loyal writers, some of whom wrote after their return to Castile. They would, therefore, more naturally lean to the side of the true representative of the crown than to that of the rebel. Indeed, the only voice raised decidedly in favor of Pizarro is his own,—a very suspicious authority. Yet, with all the *prestiges* in his favor, the administration of Blasco Nuñez, from universal testimony, was a total failure. And there is little to interest us in the story of the man, except his unparalleled misfortunes and the firmness with which he bore them.

the detested ordinances, and the name of Gonzalo Pizarro was sounded from one end of the country to the other as that of its deliverer. That chief continued to prolong his stay in Quito during the wet season, dividing his time between the licentious pleasures of the reckless adventurer and the cares of business that now pressed on him as ruler of the state. His administration was stained with fewer acts of violence than might have been expected from the circumstances of his situation. So long as Carbajal, the counsellor in whom he unfortunately placed great reliance, was absent, Gonzalo sanctioned no execution, it was observed, but according to the forms of law.[33] He rewarded his followers by new grants of land, and detached several on expeditions,—to no greater distance, however, than would leave it in his power readily to recall them. He made various provisions for the welfare of the natives, and some, in particular, for instructing them in the Christian faith. He paid attention to the faithful collection of the royal dues, urging on the colonists that they should deport themselves so as to conciliate the good will of the crown and induce a revocation of the ordinances. His administration, in short, was so conducted that even the austere Gasca, his successor, allowed "it was a good government,—for a tyrant."[34]

[33] "Nunca Piçarro, en ausencia de Francisco de Carvajal, su Maestre de Campo, mató, ni consintió matar Español, sin que todos, los mas de su Consejo, lo aprobasen: i entonces con Proceso en forma de Derecho, i confesados primero." Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. 172.

[34] Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., ubi supra.—Fernandez gives a less favorable picture of Gonzalo's administration (Hist. del Peru, Parte

At length, in July, 1546, the new governor bade adieu to Quito, and, leaving there a sufficient garrison under his officer Puelles, began his journey to the south. It was a triumphal progress, and everywhere on the road he was received with enthusiasm by the people. At Truxillo the citizens came out in a body to welcome him, and the clergy chanted anthems in his honor, extolling him as the "victorious prince," and imploring the Almighty "to lengthen his days and give him honor." [35] At Lima it was proposed to clear away some of the buildings and open a new street for his entrance, which might ever after bear the name of the victor. But the politic chieftain declined this flattering tribute, and modestly preferred to enter the city by the usual way. A procession was formed of the citizens, the soldiers, and the clergy, and Pizarro made his entry into the capital with two of his principal captains on foot holding the reins of his charger, while the Archbishop of Lima, and the Bishops of Cuzco, Quito, and Bogotá, the last of whom had lately come to the city to be consecrated, rode by his side. The streets were strewn with boughs, the walls of the houses hung with showy tapestries, and triumphal arches were thrown over the way in honor of the victor. Every balcony, veranda, and house-top was crowded with spectators, who sent up huzzas,

1, lib. 1, cap. 54; lib. 2, cap. 13). Fernandez wrote at the instance of the court; Gomara, though present at court, wrote to please himself. The praise of Gomara is less suspicious than the censure of Fernandez.

[35] "Victorioso Principe, hagate Dios dichoso, i bienaventurado, él te mantenga, i te conserve." Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 8, lib. 2, cap. 9.

loud and long, saluting the victorious soldier with the titles of "Liberator and Protector of the people." The bells rang out their joyous peal, as on his former entrance into the capital; and, amidst strains of enlivening music and the blithe sounds of jubilee, Gonzalo held on his way to the palace of his brother. Peru was once more placed under the dynasty of the Pizarros.[36]

Deputies came from different parts of the country, tendering the congratulations of their respective cities; and every one eagerly urged his own claims to consideration for the services he had rendered in the revolution. Pizarro at the same time received the welcome intelligence of the success of his arms in the south. Diego Centeno, as before stated, had there raised the standard of rebellion, or rather of loyalty to his sovereign. He had made himself master of La Plata, and the spirit of insurrection had spread over the broad provinces of Charcas. Carbajal, who had been sent against him from Quito, after repairing to Lima, had passed at once to Cuzco, and there, strengthening his forces, had descended by rapid marches on the refractory district. Centeno did not trust himself in the field against this formidable champion. He retreated with his troops into the fastnesses of the sierra. Carbajal pursued, following on his track with the pertinacity of a bloodhound, over mountain and moor, through forests and dangerous ravines, allowing

[36] For an account of this pageant, see Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 8, lib. 2, cap. 9.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 6, cap. 5.—Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.

him no respite by day or by night. Eating, drinking, sleeping in his saddle, the veteran, eighty years of age, saw his own followers tire one after another, while he urged on the chase, like the wild huntsman of Bürger, as if endowed with an unearthly frame, incapable of fatigue! During this terrible pursuit, which continued for more than two hundred leagues over a savage country, Centeno found himself abandoned by most of his followers. Such of them as fell into Carbajal's hands were sent to speedy execution; for that inexorable chief had no mercy on those who had been false to their party.[37] At length, Centeno, with a handful of men, arrived on the borders of the Pacific, and there, separating from one another, they provided, each in the best way he could, for their own safety. Their leader found an asylum in a cave in the mountains, where he was secretly fed by an Indian curaca till the time again came for him to unfurl the standard of revolt.[38]

[37] *Poblando los arboles con sus cuerpos,* "peopling the trees with their bodies," says Fernandez, strongly; alluding to the manner in which the ferocious officer hung up his captives on the branches.

[38] For the expedition of Carbajal, see Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 8, lib. 1, cap. 9, et seq.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 6, cap. 1.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 4, cap. 28, 29, 36, 39.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 1, et seq.—Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.—It is impossible to give, in a page or two, any adequate idea of the hairbreadth escapes and perilous risks of Carbajal, not only from the enemy, but from his own men, whose strength he overtasked in the chase. They rival those of the renowned Scanderbeg, or our own Kentucky hero, Colonel Boone. They were, indeed, far more wonderful than theirs, since the Spanish captain had reached an age when the failing energies usually crave repose. But the veteran's body seems to have been as insensible as his soul.

Carbajal, after some further decisive movements, which fully established the ascendency of Pizarro over the south, returned in triumph to La Plata. There he occupied himself with working the silver-mines of Potosí, in which a vein recently opened promised to make richer returns than any yet discovered in Mexico or Peru;[39] and he was soon enabled to send large remittances to Lima, deducting no stinted commission for himself,—for the cupidity of the lieutenant was equal to his cruelty.

Gonzalo Pizarro was now undisputed master of Peru. From Quito to the northern confines of Chili, the whole country acknowledged his authority. His fleet rode triumphant on the Pacific, and gave him the command of every city and hamlet on its borders. His admiral, Hinojosa, a discreet and gallant officer, had secured him Panamá, and, marching across the Isthmus, had since obtained for him the possession of Nombre de Dios,—the principal key of communication with Europe. His forces were on an excellent footing, including the flower of the warriors who had fought under his brother, and who now eagerly rallied under the name of Pizarro; while the tide of wealth that flowed in from the mines of Potosí supplied him with the resources of a European monarch.

[39] The vein now discovered at Potosí was so rich that the other mines were comparatively deserted in order to work this. (Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 6, cap. 4.) The effect of the sudden influx of wealth was such, according to Garcilasso, that in ten years from this period an iron horseshoe, in that quarter, came to be worth nearly its weight in silver. Com. Real., Parte 1, lib. 8, cap. 24.

The new governor now began to assume a state correspondent with his full-blown fortunes. He was attended by a body-guard of eighty soldiers. He dined always in public, and usually with not less than a hundred guests at table. He even affected, it was said, the more decided etiquette of royalty, giving his hand to be kissed, and allowing no one, of whatever rank, to be seated in his presence.[40] But this is denied by others. It would not be strange that a vain man like Pizarro, with a superficial, undisciplined mind, when he saw himself thus raised from an humble condition to the highest post in the land, should be somewhat intoxicated by the possession of power and treat with superciliousness those whom he had once approached with deference. But one who had often seen him in his prosperity assures us that it was not so, and that the governor continued to show the same frank and soldier-like bearing as before his elevation, mingling on familiar terms with his comrades, and displaying the same qualities which had hitherto endeared him to the people.[41]

However this may be, it is certain there were not wanting those who urged him to throw off

[40] "Traia Guarda de ochenta Alabarderos, i otros muchos de Caballo, que le acompañaban, i ià en su presencia ninguno se sentaba, i à mui pocos quitaba la Gorra." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 6, cap. 5.

[41] Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 4, cap. 42.—Garcilasso had opportunities of personal acquaintance with Gonzalo's manner of living; for, when a boy, he was sometimes admitted, as he tells us, to a place at his table. This courtesy, so rare from the Conquerors to any of the Indian race, was not lost on the historian of the Incas, who has depicted Gonzalo Pizarro in more favorable colors than most of his own countrymen.

his allegiance to the crown and set up an independent government for himself. Among these was his lieutenant, Carbajal, whose daring spirit never shrank from following things to their consequences. He plainly counselled Pizarro to renounce his allegiance at once. "In fact, you have already done so," he said. "You have been in arms against a viceroy, have driven him from the country, beaten and slain him in battle. What favor, or even mercy, can you expect from the crown? You have gone too far either to halt or to recede. You must go boldly on, proclaim yourself king: the troops, the people, will support you." And he concluded, it is said, by advising him to marry the Coya, the female representative of the Incas, that the two races might henceforth repose in quiet under a common sceptre![42]

The advice of the bold counsellor was perhaps the most politic that could have been given to Pizarro under existing circumstances. For he was like one who had heedlessly climbed far up a dizzy precipice,—too far to descend safely, while he had no sure hold where he was. His only chance was to climb still higher, till he had gained the summit.

[42] Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 4, cap. 40.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. 172.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 13.—The poet Molina has worked up this scene between Carbajal and his commander with good effect, in his *Amazonas en las Indias*, where he uses something of a poet's license in the homage he pays to the modest merits of Gonzalo. Julius Cæsar himself was not more magnanimous:

"Sepa mi Rey, sepa España,
Que muero por no ofenderla,
Tan facil de conservarla,
Que pierdo por no agraviarla,
Quanto infame en poseerla
Una Corona ofrecida."

But Gonzalo Pizarro shrank from the attitude, in which this placed him, of avowed rebellion. Notwithstanding the criminal course into which he had been of late seduced, the sentiment of loyalty was too deeply implanted in his bosom to be wholly eradicated. Though in arms against the measures and ministers of his sovereign, he was not prepared to raise the sword against that sovereign himself. He, doubtless, had conflicting emotions in his bosom; like Macbeth, and many a less noble nature,

> "would not play false,
> And yet would wrongly win."

And, however grateful to his vanity might be the picture of the air-drawn sceptre thus painted to his imagination, he had not the audacity—we may perhaps say, the criminal ambition—to attempt to grasp it.

Even at this very moment, when urged to this desperate extremity, he was preparing a mission to Spain, in order to vindicate the course he had taken, and to solicit an amnesty for the past, with a full confirmation of his authority as successor to his brother in the government of Peru. Pizarro did not read the future with the calm prophetic eye of Carbajal.

Among the biographical notices of the writers on Spanish colonial affairs, the name of Herrera, who has done more for this vast subject than any other author, should certainly not be omitted. His account of Peru takes its proper place in his great work, the *Historia general de las Indias,* according to the chronological plan on which that history is arranged. But, as it suggests reflections not different in character from those suggested by other portions of the work, I shall take the liberty to refer the reader to the Postscript to Book Third of the *Conquest of Mexico*, for a full account of these volumes and their learned author.

Another chronicler, to whom I have been frequently indebted in the progress of the narrative, is Francisco Lopez de Gomara. The reader will also find a notice of this author in the *Conquest of Mexico,* vol. ii. Book 5, Postscript. But, as the remarks on his writings are there confined to the *Crónica de Nueva-España,* it may be well to add here some reflections on his greater work, *Historia de las Indias,* in which the Peruvian story bears a conspicuous part.

The "History of the Indies" is intended to give a brief view of the whole range of Spanish conquest in the islands and on the American continent, as far as had been achieved by the middle of the sixteenth century. For this account, Gomara, though it does not appear that he ever visited the New World, was in a situation that opened to him the best means of information. He was well acquainted with the principal men of the time, and gathered the details of their history from their own lips; while from his residence at the court he was in possession of the state of opinion there, and of the impression made by passing events on those most competent to judge of them. He was thus enabled to introduce into his work many interesting particulars not to be found in other records of the period. His range of inquiry extended beyond the mere doings of the Conquerors, and led him to a survey of the general resources of the countries he describes, and especially of their physical aspect and productions. The conduct of his work, no less than its diction, shows the cultivated scholar, practised in the art of composition. Instead of the *naïveté,* engaging, but childlike, of the old military chroniclers, Gomara handles his various topics with the shrewd and piquant criticism of a man of the world; while his descriptions are managed with a comprehensive brevity that forms the opposite to the long-winded and rambling paragraphs of the monkish annalist. These literary merits, combined with the knowledge of the writer's opportunities for information, secured his productions from the oblivion which too often awaits the unpublished manuscript; and he had the satisfaction to see them pass into more than one edition in his own day. Yet they do not bear the highest stamp of authenticity. The author too readily admits accounts into his pages which are not supported by contemporary testimony. This he does, not from credulity, for his mind rather leans in an opposite direction, but from a want, apparently, of the true spirit of historic conscientiousness. The imputation of carelessness in his statements—to use a temperate phrase—was brought against Gomara in his own day; and Garcilasso tells us that, when called to account by some of the Peruvian cavaliers for misstatements which bore hard on themselves, the historian made but an awkward explanation. This is a great blemish on his productions, and renders them of far less value to the modern compiler, who seeks for the well of truth undefiled, than many an humbler but less unscrupulous chronicle.

There is still another authority used in this work, Gonzalo Fernandez

de Oviedo, of whom I have given an account elsewhere; and the reader curious in the matter will permit me to refer him for a critical notice of his life and writings to the *Conquest of Mexico*, Book 4, Postscript.—His account of Peru is incorporated into his great work, *Natural é general Historia de las Indias, MS.*, where it forms the forty-sixth and forty-seventh books. It extends from Pizarro's landing at Tumbez to Almagro's return from Chili, and thus covers the entire portion of what may be called the conquest of the country. The style of its execution, corresponding with that of the residue of the work to which it belongs, affords no ground for criticism different from that already passed on the general character of Oviedo's writings.

This eminent person was at once a scholar and a man of the world. Living much at court, and familiar with persons of the highest distinction in Castile, he yet passed much of his time in the colonies, and thus added the fruits of personal experience to what he had gained from the reports of others. His curiosity was indefatigable, extending to every department of natural science, as well as to the civil and personal history of the colonists. He was at once their Pliny and their Tacitus. His works abound in portraitures of character, sketched with freedom and animation. His reflections are piquant, and often rise to a philosophic tone, which discards the usual trammels of the age; and the progress of the story is varied by a multiplicity of personal anecdotes that give a rapid insight into the characters of the parties.

With his eminent qualifications, and with a social position that commanded respect, it is strange that so much of his writings—the whole of his great *Historia de las Indias*, and his curious *Quincuagenas*—should be so long suffered to remain in manuscript. This is partly chargeable to the caprice of fortune; for the history was more than once on the eve of publication, and is even now understood to be prepared for the press. Yet it has serious defects, which may have contributed to keep it in its present form. In its desultory and episodical style of composition it resembles rather notes for a great history, than history itself. It may be regarded in the light of commentaries, or as illustrations of the times. In that view his pages are of high worth, and have been frequently resorted to by writers who have not too scrupulously appropriated the statements of the old chronicler, with slight acknowledgments to their author.

It is a pity that Oviedo should have shown more solicitude to tell what was new than to ascertain how much of it was strictly true. Among his merits will scarcely be found that of historical accuracy. And yet we may find an apology for this, to some extent, in the fact that his writings, as already intimated, are not so much in the nature of finished compositions as of loose memoranda, where every thing, rumor as well as fact,—even the most contradictory rumors,—are all

set down at random, forming a miscellaneous heap of materials, of which the discreet historian may avail himself to rear a symmetrical fabric on foundations of greater strength and solidity.

Another author worthy of particular note is Pedro Cieza de Leon. His *Crónica del Peru* should more properly be styled an Itinerary, or rather Geography, of Peru. It gives a minute topographical view of the country at the time of the Conquest; of its provinces and towns, both Indian and Spanish; its flourishing sea-coast; its forests, valleys, and interminable ranges of mountains in the interior; with many interesting particulars of the existing population, —their dress, manners, architectural remains, and public works; while scattered here and there may be found notices of their early history and social polity. It is, in short, a lively picture of the country, in its physical and moral relations, as it met the eye at the time of the Conquest, and in that transition period when it was first subjected to European influences. The conception of a work, at so early a period, on this philosophical plan, reminding us of that of Malte-Brun in our own time,—*parva componere magnis*,— was of itself indicative of great comprehensiveness of mind in its author. It was a task of no little difficulty, where there was yet no pathway opened by the labors of the antiquarian; no hints from the sketch-book of the traveller or the measurements of the scientific explorer. Yet the distances from place to place are all carefully jotted down by the industrious compiler, and the bearings of the different places and their peculiar features are exhibited with sufficient precision, considering the nature of the obstacles he had to encounter. The literary execution of the work, moreover, is highly respectable, sometimes even rich and picturesque; and the author describes the grand and beautiful scenery of the Cordilleras with a sensibility to its charms not often found in the tasteless topographer, still less often in the rude Conqueror.

Cieza de Leon came to the New World, as he informs us, at the early age of thirteen. But it is not till Gasca's time that we find his name enrolled among the actors in the busy scenes of civil strife, when he accompanied the president in his campaign against Gonzalo Pizarro. His Chronicle, or at least the notes for it, was compiled in such leisure as he could snatch from his more stirring avocations; * and after ten years from the time he undertook it, the First Part— all we have—was completed in 1550, when the author had reached only the age of thirty-two. It appeared at Seville in 1553, and the

* ["Oftentimes, when the other soldiers were reposing, I was tiring myself by writing. Neither fatigue, nor the ruggedness of the country, nor the mountains and rivers, nor intolerable hunger and suffering, had ever been sufficient to obstruct my two duties, namely, writing and following my flag and my captain without fault." (From the dedication.)—M.]

following year at Antwerp; while an Italian translation printed at Rome in 1555 attested the rapid celebrity of the work. The edition of Antwerp—the one used by me in this compilation—is in the duodecimo form, exceedingly well printed, and garnished with woodcuts, in which Satan,—for the author had a full measure of the ancient credulity,—with his usual bugbear accompaniments, frequently appears in bodily presence. In the Preface, Cieza announces his purpose to continue the work in three other parts, illustrating respectively the ancient history of the country under the Incas, its conquest by the Spaniards, and the civil wars which ensued. He even gives, with curious minuteness, the contents of the several books of the projected history. But the First Part, as already noticed, was alone completed; and the author, having returned to Spain, died there in 1560, at the premature age of forty-two, without having covered any portion of the magnificent ground-plan which he had thus confidently laid out.* The deficiency is

* [This statement, resting apparently merely on inference, is so far from being correct that there are good reasons for believing that the whole work was completed, and that the unpublished portions are still extant. Mr. Rich, the well-known bibliographer, says, in a catalogue published in 1832, that the Second and Third Parts in manuscript "were seen in Madrid some years ago, but it is not known what became of them." A copy of the third book of the Fourth Part, which belonged formerly to Lord Kingsborough's collection, is now in the possession of Mr. James Lenox, of New York, to whom the editor is indebted for the opportunity of consulting it. It is divided into two hundred and thirty-nine chapters, comprising nine hundred and sixteen folio pages, in a handwriting of the present century, and bears the title of "Tercero Libro de las Guerras civiles del Peru, el qual se llama la Guerra de Quito, hecho por Pedro de Zieza de Leon, coronista de las cosas de las Yndias." The narrative, which is more minute than the authorities cited by Prescott, without differing from them much in other respects, embraces the period from the appointment of Blasco Nuñez as viceroy, in 1543, to the events immediately preceding Gasca's departure from Panamá for Peru, in 1547. The manuscript, whether the original or an earlier transcript, from which this copy was so recently made, can scarcely be supposed to have perished; and the fact that the Fourth Part, or at least the greater portion of it, was written, affords the strongest presumption that the Second and Third Parts had been completed. In regard to the Second Part, indeed, there is no room for doubt, as this can be identified with a manuscript of which Prescott possessed a copy, and which, indeed, he has used as one of his main authorities. The *Relacion* cited by him as the work of Juan de Sarmiento agrees in all particulars with the account given by Cieza de Leon of the contents of his Second Part. There

much to be regretted, considering the talent of the writer and his opportunities for personal observation. But he has done enough to render us grateful for his labors. By the vivid delineation of scenes and scenery, as they were presented fresh to his own eyes, he has furnished us with a background to the historic picture,—the landscape, as it were, in which the personages of the time might be more fitly portrayed. It would have been impossible to exhibit the ancient topography of the land so faithfully at a subsequent period, when old things had passed away, and the Conqueror, breaking down the landmarks of ancient civilization, had effaced many of the features even of the physical aspect of the country as it existed under the elaborate culture of the Incas.

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are no such discrepancies between it and the published First Part as would certainly have existed had they been the productions of two different writers. There is mention in both of the author's having accompanied Gasca in his march, of his having been at Cuzco in 1550, and of his having visited certain places in remote parts of the country. One passage in the manuscript offers still stronger confirmation. In describing a Peruvian temple, the writer compares it to a building at Toledo, "which," he says, without mentioning its name or character, "I saw when I went there to present the *First Part* of my Chronicle to the prince Don Philip." The First Part of Cieza de Leon's work is dedicated to Prince Philip of Spain, and the mention of Toledo as of a strange place could scarcely have come from the pen of any Spaniard save one who had been absent from his country from boyhood.*—K.]

* [The First Part, relating to the geography of the country and giving a general description of Peru, was translated by Markham, and published by the Hakluyt Society in 1864 as "The Travels of Cieza de Leon." The translation was made from the edition used by Prescott.

The Second Part, describing the period of the Inca domination,—the part erroneously attributed by Prescott to Sarmiento, as explained in Kirk's note,—was also translated by Markham, and published by the Hakluyt Society in 1883,—"The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru."

The Third Part, relating to the Spanish Conquest, is, according to that distinguished scholar Marcos Jiménes de la Espada, in existence, but inaccessible.

Of the Fourth Part, which describes the civil wars of the Conquerors, Book III. was edited by Espada, and published at Madrid in 1877, in the Biblioteca Hispano-Ultramarina, as "Tercero Libro de las Gueoras Civiles del Peru." Books I. and II. are, according to Espada, in existence, but inaccessible. Books IV. and V., referred to by Cieza as written, are not known to exist.—M.]

BOOK V

SETTLEMENT OF THE COUNTRY

CHAPTER I

GREAT SENSATION IN SPAIN—PEDRO DE LA GASCA —HIS EARLY LIFE—HIS MISSION TO PERU—HIS POLITIC CONDUCT — HIS OFFERS TO PIZARRO — GAINS THE FLEET

1545–1547

WHILE the important revolution detailed in the preceding pages was going forward in Peru, rumors of it, from time to time, found their way to the mother-country; but the distance was so great, and opportunities for communication so rare, that the tidings were usually very long behind the occurrence of the events to which they related. The government heard with dismay of the troubles caused by the ordinances and the intemperate conduct of the viceroy; and it was not long before it learned that this functionary was deposed and driven from his capital, while the whole country, under Gonzalo Pizarro, was arrayed in arms against him. All classes were filled with consternation at this alarming intelligence; and many who had before approved the ordinances now loudly condemned the ministers, who, without considering the inflammable temper of the people, had thus rashly fired a train which menaced a general explosion throughout the colo-

nies.[1] No such rebellion, within the memory of man, had occurred in the Spanish empire. It was compared with the famous war of the *comunidades* in the beginning of the present reign. But the Peruvian insurrection seemed the more formidable of the two. The troubles of Castile, being under the eye of the court, might be more easily managed; while it was difficult to make the same power felt on the remote shores of the Indies. Lying along the distant Pacific, the principle of attraction which held Peru to the parent country was so feeble that this colony might at any time, with a less impulse than that now given to it, fly from its political orbit. It seemed as if the fairest of its jewels was about to fall from the imperial diadem!

Such was the state of things in the summer of 1545, when Charles the Fifth was absent in Germany, occupied with the religious troubles of the empire. The government was in the hands of his son, who, under the name of Philip the Second, was soon to sway the sceptre over the largest portion of his father's dominions, and who was then holding his court at Valladolid. He called together a council of prelates, jurists, and military men of greatest experience, to deliberate on the measures to be pursued for restoring order in the

[1] "Que aquello era contra una cédula que tenian del Emperador que les daba el repartimiento de los indios de su vida, y del hijo mayor, y no teniendo hijos á sus mugeres, con mandarles espresamente que se casasen como lo habian ya hecho los mas de ellos; y que tambien era contra otra cédula real que ninguno podia ser despojado de sus indios sin ser primero oido á justicia y condenado." Historia de Don Pedro Gasca, Obispo de Siguenza, MS.

PORTRAIT OF PHILIP II.

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[illegible] was absent in Ger-
[illegible] dangerous troubles of the
[illegible] upon the hands of his
[illegible] Philip the Second,
[illegible] the largest por-
[illegible] then
[illegible] called to-
[illegible] military
[illegible] deliberate on the
[illegible] order in the

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colonies. All agreed in regarding Pizarro's movement in the light of an audacious rebellion; and there were few, at first, who were not willing to employ the whole strength of the government to vindicate the honor of the crown,—to quell the insurrection and bring the authors of it to punishment.[2]

But, however desirable this might appear, a very little reflection showed that it was not easy to be done, if indeed it were practicable. The great distance of Peru required troops to be transported not merely across the ocean, but over the broad extent of the great continent. And how was this to be effected, when the principal posts, the keys of communication with the country, were in the hands of the rebels, while their fleet rode in the Pacific, the mistress of its waters, cutting off all approach to the coast? Even if a Spanish force could be landed in Peru, what chance would it have, unaccustomed as it would be to the country and the climate, of coping with the veterans of Pizarro, trained to war in the Indies and warmly attached to the person of their commander? The new levies thus sent out might become themselves infected with the spirit of insurrection and cast off their own allegiance.[3]

[2] MS. de Caravantes.—Hist. de Don Pedro Gasca, MS.—One of this council was the great Duke of Alva, of such gloomy celebrity afterwards in the Netherlands. We may well believe his voice was for coercion.

[3] "Ventilose la forma del remedio de tan grave caso en que huvo dos opiniones; la una de imbiar un gran soldado con fuerza de gente á la demostracion de este castigo; la otra que se llevase el negocio por prudentes y suaves medios, por la imposibilidad y falto de dinero para llevar gente, cavallos, armas, municiones y vasti-

Nothing remained, therefore, but to try conciliatory measures. The government, however mortifying to its pride, must retrace its steps. A free grace must be extended to those who submitted, and such persuasive arguments should be used, and such politic concessions made, as would convince the refractory colonists that it was their interest, as well as their duty, to return to their allegiance.

But to approach the people in their present state of excitement, and to make those concessions without too far compromising the dignity and permanent authority of the crown, was a delicate matter, for the success of which they must rely wholly on the character of the agent. After much deliberation, a competent person, as it was thought, was found in an ecclesiastic, by the name of Pedro de la Gasca,—a name which, brighter by contrast with the gloomy times in which it first appeared, still shines with undiminished splendor after the lapse of ages.

Pedro de la Gasca was born, probably, towards the close of the fifteenth century, in a small village in Castile, named Barco de Avila. He came, both by father's and mother's side, from an ancient and noble lineage; ancient indeed, if, as his biographers contend, he derived his descent from Casca, one of the conspirators against Julius Cæsar![4] Having the misfortune to lose his

mentos, y para sustentarlos en tierra firme y pasarlos al Pirú." MS. de Caravantes.

[4] "Pasando á España vinieron á tierra de Avila y quedó del nombre dellos el lugar y familia de Gasca; mudandose por la afinidad de la pronunciacion que hay entre las dos letras consonantes *c* y *g*

father early in life, he was placed by his uncle in the famous seminary of Alcalá de Henares, founded by the great Ximenes. Here he made rapid proficiency in liberal studies, especially in those connected with his profession, and at length received the degree of Master of Theology.

The young man, however, discovered other talents than those demanded by his sacred calling. The war of the *comunidades* was then raging in the country; and the authorities of his college showed a disposition to take the popular side. But Gasca, putting himself at the head of an armed force, seized one of the gates of the city, and, with assistance from the royal troops, secured the place to the interests of the crown. This early display of loyalty was probably not lost on his vigilant sovereign.[5]

From Alcalá, Gasca was afterwards removed to Salamanca; where he distinguished himself by his skill in scholastic disputation, and obtained the highest academic honors in that ancient university, the fruitful nursery of scholarship and genius. He was subsequently intrusted with the

el nombre de Casca en Gasca." Hist. de Don Pedro Gasca, MS.— Similarity of name was a peg quite strong enough to hang a pedigree upon in Castile.

[5] This account of the early history of Gasca I have derived chiefly from a manuscript biographical notice written in 1565, during the prelate's life. The name of the author, who speaks apparently from personal knowledge, is not given; but it seems to be the work of a scholar, and is written with a certain pretension to elegance. The original MS. forms part of the valuable collection of Don Pascual de Gayangos of Madrid. It is of much value for the light it throws on the early career of Gasca, which has been passed over in profound silence by Castilian historians. It is to be regretted that the author did not continue his labors beyond the period when the subject of them received his appointment to the Peruvian mission.

management of some important affairs of an ecclesiastical nature, and made a member of the Council of the Inquisition.

In this latter capacity he was sent to Valencia, about 1540, to examine into certain alleged cases of heresy in that quarter of the country. These were involved in great obscurity; and, although Gasca had the assistance of several eminent jurists in the investigation, it occupied him nearly two years. In the conduct of this difficult matter he showed so much penetration and such perfect impartiality that he was appointed by the cortes of Valencia to the office of *visitador* of that kingdom; a highly responsible post, requiring great discretion in the person who filled it, since it was his province to inspect the condition of the courts of justice and of finance throughout the land, with authority to reform abuses. It was a proof of extraordinary consideration that it should have been bestowed on Gasca, since it was a departure from the established usage—and that in a nation most wedded to usage—to confer the office on any but a subject of the Aragonese crown.[6]

Gasca executed the task assigned to him with independence and ability. While he was thus occupied, the people of Valencia were thrown into consternation by a meditated invasion of the

[6] "Era tanta la opinion que en Valencia tenian de la integridad y prudencia de Gasca, que en las Cortes de Monzon los Estados de aquel Reyno le pidieron por Visitador contra la costumbre y fuero de aquel Reyno, que no puede serlo sino fuere natural de la Corona de Araugon, y consintiendo que aquel fuero se derogase el Emperador lo concedió á instancia y peticion dellos." Hist. de Don Pedro Gasca, MS.

French and the Turks, whose combined fleet, under the redoubtable Barbarossa, menaced the coast and the neighboring Balearic isles. Fears were generally entertained of a rising of the Morisco population; and the Spanish officers who had command in that quarter, being left without the protection of a navy, despaired of making head against the enemy. In this season of general panic Gasca alone appeared calm and self-possessed. He remonstrated with the Spanish commanders on their unsoldierlike despondency, encouraged them to confide in the loyalty of the Moriscos, and advised the immediate erection of fortifications along the shores for their protection. He was, in consequence, named one of a commission to superintend these works and to raise levies for defending the sea-coast; and so faithfully was the task performed that Barbarossa, after some ineffectual attempts to make good his landing, was baffled at all points and compelled to abandon the enterprise as hopeless. The chief credit of this resistance must be assigned to Gasca, who superintended the construction of the defences, and who was enabled to contribute a large part of the requisite funds by the economical reforms he had introduced into the administration of Valencia.[7]

It was at this time, the latter part of the year

[7] "Que parece cierto," says his enthusiastic biographer, "que por disposicion Divina vino á hallarse Gasca entónces en la Ciudad de Valencia, para remedio de aquel Reyno y Islas de Mallorca y Menorca é Iviza, segun la órden, prevencion y diligencia que en la defensa contra las armadas del Turco y Francia tuvo, y las provisiones que para ello hizo." Hist. de Don Pedro Gasca, MS.

1545, that the council of Philip selected Gasca as the person most competent to undertake the perilous mission to Peru.[8] His character, indeed, seemed especially suited to it. His loyalty had been shown through his whole life. With great suavity of manners he combined the most intrepid resolution. Though his demeanor was humble, as beseemed his calling, it was far from abject; for he was sustained by a conscious rectitude of purpose that impressed respect on all with whom he had intercourse. He was acute in his perceptions, had a shrewd knowledge of character, and, though bred to the cloister, possessed an acquaintance with affairs, and even with military science, such as was to have been expected only from one reared in courts and camps.

Without hesitation, therefore, the council unanimously recommended him to the emperor, and requested his approbation of their proceedings. Charles had not been an inattentive observer of Gasca's course. His attention had been particularly called to the able manner in which he had conducted the judicial process against the heretics of Valencia.[9] The monarch saw at once that he

[8] "Finding a lion would not answer, they sent a lamb," says Gomara: "Finalmente, quiso embiar una Oveja, pues un Leon no aprovecho; y asi escogiò al Licenciado Pedro Gasca." Hist. de las Ind., cap. 174.

[9] Gasca made what the author calls *una breve y copyosa relacion* of the proceedings to the emperor in Valencia; and the monarch was so intent on the inquiry that he devoted the whole afternoon to it, notwithstanding his son Philip was waiting for him to attend a *fiesta!* irrefragable proof, as the writer conceives, of his zeal for the faith: "Queriendo entender muy de raizo todo lo que pasaba, como Principe tan zeloso que era de las cosas de la religion." Hist. de Don Pedro Gasca, MS.

was the man for the present emergency; and he immediately wrote to him, with his own hand, expressing his entire satisfaction at the appointment, and intimating his purpose to testify his sense of his worth by preferring him to one of the principal sees then vacant.

Gasca accepted the important mission now tendered to him without hesitation, and, repairing to Madrid, received the instructions of the government as to the course to be pursued. They were expressed in the most benign and conciliatory tone, perfectly in accordance with the suggestions of his own benevolent temper.[10] But, while he commended the tone of the instructions, he considered the powers with which he was to be intrusted as wholly incompetent to their object. They were conceived in the jealous spirit with which the Spanish government usually limited the authority of its great colonial officers, whose distance from home gave peculiar cause for distrust. On every strange and unexpected emergency, Gasca saw that he should be obliged to send back for instructions. This must cause delay, where promptitude was essential to success. The court, moreover, as he represented to the council, was, from its remoteness from the scene of action, utterly incompetent to pronounce as to the expediency of the measures to be pursued. Some one should be sent out in whom the king could implicitly confide, and who should be

[10] These instructions, the patriarchal tone of which is highly creditable to the government, are given *in extenso* in the MS. of Caravantes, and in no other work which I have consulted.

invested with powers competent to every emergency,—powers not merely to decide on what was best, but to carry that decision into execution; and he boldly demanded that he should go not only as the representative of the sovereign, but clothed with all the authority of the sovereign himself. Less than this would defeat the very object for which he was to be sent. "For myself," he concluded, "I ask neither salary nor compensation of any kind. I covet no display of state or military array. With my stole and breviary I trust to do the work that is committed to me.[11] Infirm as I am in body, the repose of my own home would have been more grateful to me than this dangerous mission; but I will not shrink from it at the bidding of my sovereign, and if, as is very probable, I may not be permitted again to see my native land, I shall at least be cheered by the consciousness of having done my best to serve its interests."[12]

The members of the council, while they listened with admiration to the disinterested avowal of Gasca, were astounded by the boldness of his demands. Not that they distrusted the purity of his motives, for these were above suspicion. But the powers for which he stipulated were so far beyond those hitherto delegated to a colonial

[11] "De suerte que juzgassen que la mas fuerça que lleuaua, era su abito de clerigo y breuiario." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 16.

[12] MS. de Caravantes.—Hist. de Don Pedro Gasca, MS.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 16, 17.—Though not for himself, Gasca did solicit one favor of the emperor,—the appointment of his brother, an eminent jurist, to a vacant place on the bench of one of the Castilian tribunals.

viceroy that they felt they had no warrant to grant them. They even shrank from soliciting them from the emperor, and required that Gasca himself should address the monarch and state precisely the grounds on which demands so extraordinary were founded.

Gasca readily adopted the suggestion, and wrote in the most full and explicit manner to his sovereign, who had then transferred his residence to Flanders. But Charles was not so tenacious, or, at least, so jealous, of authority, as his ministers. He had been too long in possession of it to feel that jealousy; and, indeed, many years were not to elapse before, oppressed by its weight, he was to resign it altogether into the hands of his son. His sagacious mind, moreover, readily comprehended the difficulties of Gasca's position. He felt that the present extraordinary crisis was to be met only by extraordinary measures. He assented to the force of his vassal's arguments, and, on the sixteenth of February, 1546, wrote him another letter expressive of his approbation, and intimated his willingness to grant him powers as absolute as those he had requested.

Gasca was to be styled President of the Royal Audience. But under this simple title he was placed at the head of every department in the colony, civil, military, and judicial. He was empowered to make new *repartimientos*, and to confirm those already made. He might declare war, levy troops, appoint to all offices, or remove from them, at pleasure. He might exercise the

royal prerogative of pardoning offences, and was especially authorized to grant an amnesty to all, without exception, implicated in the present rebellion. He was, moreover, to proclaim at once the revocation of the odious ordinances. These two last provisions might be said to form the basis of all his operations.

Since ecclesiastics were not to be reached by the secular arm, and yet were often found fomenting troubles in the colonies, Gasca was permitted to banish from Peru such as he thought fit. He might even send home the viceroy, if the good of the country required it. Agreeably to his own suggestion, he was to receive no specified stipend; but he had unlimited orders on the treasuries both of Panamá and Peru. He was furnished with letters from the emperor to the principal authorities, not only in Peru, but in Mexico and the neighboring colonies, requiring their countenance and support; and, lastly, blank letters, bearing the royal signature, were delivered to him, which he was to fill up at his pleasure.[13]

While the grant of such unbounded powers excited the warmest sentiments of gratitude in Gasca towards the sovereign who could repose in him so much confidence, it seems—which is more extraordinary—not to have raised corresponding feelings of envy in the courtiers. They knew well that it was not for himself that the

[13] Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 6, cap. 6.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 8, lib. 1, cap. 6.—MS. de Caravantes.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 17, 18.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. 174.—Hist. de Don Pedro Gasca, MS.

good ecclesiastic had solicited them. On the contrary, some of the council were desirous that he should be preferred to the bishopric already promised him before his departure; conceiving that he would thus go with greater authority than as an humble ecclesiastic, and fearing, moreover, that Gasca himself, were it omitted, might feel some natural disappointment. But the president hastened to remove these impressions. "The honor would avail me little," he said, "where I am going; and it would be manifestly wrong to appoint me to an office in the Church while I remain at such a distance that I cannot discharge the duties of it. The consciousness of my insufficiency," he continued, "should I never return, would lie heavy on my soul in my last moments." [14] The politic reluctance to accept the mitre has passed into a proverb. But there was no affectation here; and Gasca's friends, yielding to his arguments, forebore to urge the matter further.

The new president now went forward with his preparations. They were few and simple; for he was to be accompanied by a slender train of followers, among whom the most conspicuous was Alonso de Alvarado, the gallant officer who, as the reader may remember, long commanded under Francisco Pizarro. He had resided of late years at the court, and now at Gasca's request accompanied him to Peru, where his presence might

[14] "Especialmente, si alla muriesse ó le matassen: que entōces de nada le podria ser buena, sino para partir desta vida, con mas congoxa y pena de la poca cuenta que daua de la prouision que auia aceptado." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 18.

facilitate negotiations with the insurgents, while his military experience would prove no less valuable in case of an appeal to arms.[15] Some delay necessarily occurred in getting ready his little squadron, and it was not till the twenty-sixth of May, 1546, that the president and his suite embarked at San Lucar for the New World.

After a prosperous voyage, and not a long one for that day, he landed, about the middle of July, at the port of Santa Marta. Here he received the astounding intelligence of the battle of Añaquito, of the defeat and death of the viceroy, and of the manner in which Gonzalo Pizarro had since established his absolute rule over the land. Although these events had occurred several months before Gasca's departure from Spain, yet, so imperfect was the intercourse, no tidings of them had then reached that country.

They now filled the president with great anxiety, as he reflected that the insurgents, after so atrocious an act as the slaughter of the viceroy, might well despair of grace and become reckless of consequences. He was careful, therefore, to have it understood that the date of his commission was subsequent to that of the fatal battle, and that it authorized an entire amnesty of all offences hitherto committed against the government.[16]

Yet in some points of view the death of Blasco Nuñez might be regarded as an auspicious cir-

[15] From this cavalier descended the noble house of the counts of Villamor in Spain. MS. de Caravantes.

[16] Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 21.

cumstance for the settlement of the country. Had he lived till Gasco's arrival, the latter would have been greatly embarrassed by the necessity of acting in concert with a person so generally detested in the colony, or by the unwelcome alternative of sending him back to Castile. The insurgents, moreover, would in all probability be now more amenable to reason, since all personal animosity might naturally be buried in the grave of their enemy.

The president was much embarrassed by deciding in what quarter he should attempt to enter Peru. Every port was in the hands of Pizarro, and was placed under the care of his officers, with strict charge to intercept any communications from Spain, and to detain such persons as bore a commission from that country until his pleasure could be known respecting them. Gasca at length decided on crossing over to Nombre de Dios, then held with a strong force by Hernan Mexia, an officer to whose charge Gonzalo had committed this strong gate to his dominions, as a person on whose attachment to his cause he could confidently rely.

Had Gasca appeared off this place in a menacing attitude, with a military array, or, indeed, with any display of official pomp that might have awakened distrust in the commander, he would doubtless have found it no easy matter to effect a landing. But Mexia saw nothing to apprehend in the approach of a poor ecclesiastic, without an armed force, with hardly even a retinue to support him, coming solely, as it seemed, on an errand

of mercy. No sooner, therefore, was he acquainted with the character of the envoy and his mission than he prepared to receive him with the honors due to his rank, and marched out at the head of his soldiers, together with a considerable body of ecclesiastics resident in the place. There was nothing in the person of Gasca, still less in his humble clerical attire and modest retinue, to impress the vulgar spectator with feelings of awe or reverence. Indeed, the poverty-stricken aspect, as it seemed, of himself and his followers, so diffent from the usual state affected by the Indian viceroys, excited some merriment among the rude soldiery, who did not scruple to break their coarse jests on his appearance, in the hearing of the president himself.[17] "If this is the sort of governor his Majesty sends over to us," they exclaimed, "Pizarro need not trouble his head much about it."

Yet the president, far from being ruffled by this ribaldry or from showing resentment to its authors, submitted to it with the utmost humility, and only seemed the more grateful to his own brethren, who by their respectful demeanor appeared anxious to do him honor.

But, however plain and unpretending the manners of Gasca, Mexia, on his first interview with him, soon discovered that he had no common man to deal with. The president, after briefly explaining the nature of his commission, told him that he

[17] "Especialmente muchos de los soldados, que estauan desacatados y decian palabras feas, y desuergõçadas. A lo qual el Presidente (viendo que era neccssario) hazia las orejas sordas." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 23.

had come as a messenger of peace, and that it was on peaceful measures he relied for his success. He then stated the general scope of his commission, his authority to grant a free pardon to all, without exception, who at once submitted to the government, and, finally, his purpose to proclaim the revocation of the ordinances. The objects of the revolution were thus attained. To contend longer would be manifest rebellion, and that without a motive; and he urged the commander by every principle of loyalty and patriotism to support him in settling the distractions of the country and bringing it back to its allegiance.

The candid and conciliatory language of the president, so different from the arrogance of Blasco Nuñez and the austere demeanor of Vaca de Castro, made a sensible impression on Mexia. He admitted the force of Gasca's reasoning, and flattered himself that Gonzalo Pizarro would not be insensible to it. Though attached to the fortunes of that leader, he was loyal in heart, and, like most of the party, had been led by accident, rather than by design, into rebellion; and, now that so good an opportunity occurred to do it with safety, he was not unwilling to retrace his steps and secure the royal favor by thus early returning to his allegiance. This he signified to the president, assuring him of his hearty co-operation in the good work of reform.[18]

This was an important step for Gasca. It was

[18] Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 23.—Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1546.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 6, cap. 6.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 8, lib. 2, cap. 5.

yet more important for him to secure the obedience of Hinojosa, the governor of Panamá, in the harbor of which city lay Pizarro's navy, consisting of two-and-twenty vessels. But it was not easy to approach this officer. He was a person of much higher character than was usually found among the reckless adventurers in the New World. He was attached to the interests of Pizarro, and the latter had requited him by placing him in command of his armada and of Panamá, the key to his territories on the Pacific.

The president first sent Mexia and Alonso de Alvarado to prepare the way for his own coming, by advising Hinojosa of the purport of his mission. He soon after followed, and was received by that commander with every show of outward respect. But, while the latter listened with deference to the representations of Gasca, they failed to work the change in him which they had wrought in Mexia; and he concluded by asking the president to show him his powers, and by inquiring whether they gave him authority to confirm Pizarro in his present post, to which he was entitled no less by his own services than by the general voice of the people.

This was an embarrassing question. Such a concession would have been altogether too humiliating to the crown; but to have openly avowed this at the present juncture to so stanch an adherent of Pizarro might have precluded all further negotiation. The president evaded the question, therefore, by simply stating that the time had not yet come for him to produce his powers, but that

Hinojosa might be assured they were such as to secure an ample recompense to every loyal servant of his country.[19]

Hinojosa was not satisfied; and he immediately wrote to Pizarro, acquainting him with Gasca's arrival and with the object of his mission, at the same time plainly intimating his own conviction that the president had no authority to confirm him in the government. But, before the departure of the ship, Gasca secured the services of a Dominican friar, who had taken his passage on board for one of the towns on the coast. This man he intrusted with the manifestoes setting forth the purport of his visit, and proclaiming the abolition of the ordinances, with a free pardon to all who returned to their obedience. He wrote also to the prelates and to the corporations of the different cities. The former he requested to co-operate with him in introducing a spirit of loyalty and subordination among the people, while he intimated to the towns his purpose to confer with them hereafter in order to devise some effectual measures for the welfare of the country. These papers the Dominican engaged to distribute, himself, among the principal cities of the colony, and he faithfully kept his word, though, as it proved, at no little hazard of his life. The seeds thus scattered might many of them fall on barren ground; but the greater part, the president trusted, would take root in the hearts of the people; and he patiently waited for the harvest.

[19] Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 25.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 6, cap. 7.—MS. de Caravantes.

Meanwhile, though he failed to remove the scruples of Hinojosa, the courteous manners of Gasca, and his mild, persuasive discourse, had a visible effect on other individuals with whom he had daily intercourse. Several of these, and among them some of the principal cavaliers in Panamá, as well as in the squadron, expressed their willingness to join the royal cause and aid the president in maintaining it. Gasca profited by their assistance to open a communication with the authorities of Guatemala and Mexico, whom he advised of his mission, while he admonished them to allow no intercourse to be carried on with the insurgents on the coast of Peru. He at length also prevailed on the governor of Panamá to furnish him with the means of entering into communication with Gonzalo Pizarro himself; and a ship was despatched to Lima, bearing a letter from Charles the Fifth addressed to that chief, with an epistle also from Gasca.

The emperor's communication was couched in the most condescending and even conciliatory terms. Far from taxing Gonzalo with rebellion, his royal master affected to regard his conduct as in a manner imposed on him by circumstances, especially by the obduracy of the viceroy Nuñez in denying the colonists the inalienable right of petition. He gave no intimation of an intent to confirm Pizarro in the government, or, indeed, to remove him from it, but simply referred him to Gasca as one who would acquaint him with the royal pleasure, and with whom he was to co-operate in restoring tranquillity to the country.

Gasca's own letter was pitched in the same politic key. He remarked, however, that the exigencies which had hitherto determined Gonzalo's line of conduct existed no longer. All that had been asked was conceded. There was nothing now to contend for; and it only remained for Pizarro and his followers to show their loyalty and the sincerity of their principles by obedience to the crown. Hitherto, the president said, Pizarro had been in arms against the viceroy, and the people had supported him as against a common enemy. If he prolonged the contest, that enemy must be his sovereign. In such a struggle, the people would be sure to desert him; and Gasca conjured him, by his honor as a cavalier and his duty as a loyal vassal, to respect the royal authority, and not rashly provoke a contest which must prove to the world that his conduct hitherto had been dictated less by patriotic motives than by selfish ambition.

This letter, which was conveyed in language the most courteous and complimentary to the subject of it, was of great length. It was accompanied by another, much more concise, to Cepeda, the intriguing lawyer, who, as Gasca knew, had the greatest influence over Pizarro, in the absence of Carbajal, then employed in reaping the silver harvest from the newly-discovered mines of Potosí.[20] In this epistle, Gasca affected to defer to the cunning politician as a member of the Royal

[20] "El Licenciado Cepeda que tengo yo agora por teniente, de quien yo hago mucho caso i le quiero mucho." Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.

Audience, and he conferred with him on the best manner of supplying a vacancy in that body. These several despatches were committed to a cavalier named Paniagua, a faithful adherent of the president, and one of those who had accompanied him from Castile. To this same emissary he also gave manifestoes and letters like those intrusted to the Dominican, with orders secretly to distribute them in Lima before he quitted that capital.[21]

Weeks and months rolled away, while the president still remained at Panamá, where, indeed, as his communications were jealously cut off with Peru, he might be said to be detained as a sort of prisoner of state. Meanwhile, both he and Hinojosa were looking with anxiety for the arrival of some messenger from Pizarro, who should indicate the manner in which the president's mission was to be received by that chief. The governor of Panamá was not blind to the perilous position in which he was himself placed, nor to the madness of provoking a contest with the court of Castile. But he had a reluctance—not too often shared by the cavaliers of Peru—to abandon the fortunes of the commander who had re-

[21] The letters noticed in the text may be found in Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 6, cap. 7, and Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 29, 30. The president's letter covers several pages. Much of it is taken up with historic precedents and illustrations, to show the folly, as well as wickedness, of a collision with the imperial authority. The benignant tone of this homily may be inferred from its concluding sentence: "Nuestro señor por su infinita bõdad alumbre a vuestra merced, y a todos los demas para que acierten a hazer en este negocio lo que cõuiene a sus almas, honras, vidas y haziendas: y guarde en su sancto servicio la Illustre persona de vuestra merced."

posed in him so great confidence. Yet he trusted that this commander would embrace the opportunity now offered of placing himself and the country in a state of permanent security.

Several of the cavaliers who had given in their adhesion to Gasca, displeased by this obstinacy, as they termed it, of Hinojosa, proposed to seize his person and then get possession of the armada. But the president at once rejected this offer. His mission, he said, was one of peace, and he would not stain it at the outset by an act of violence. He even respected the scruples of Hinojosa; and a cavalier of so honorable a nature, he conceived, if once he could be gained by fair means, would be much more likely to be true to his interests than if overcome either by force or fraud. Gasca thought he might safely abide his time. There was policy, as well as honesty, in this: indeed, they always go together.

Meantime, persons were occasionally arriving from Lima and the neighboring places, who gave accounts of Pizarro, varying according to the character and situation of the parties. Some represented him as winning all hearts by his open temper and the politic profusion with which, though covetous of wealth, he distributed *repartimientos* and favors among his followers. Others spoke of him as carrying matters with a high hand, while the greatest timidity and distrust prevailed among the citizens of Lima. All agreed that his power rested on too secure a basis to be shaken, and that, if the president should go to Lima, he must either consent to

become Pizarro's instrument and confirm him in the government, or forfeit his own life.[22]

It was undoubtedly true that Gonzalo, while he gave attention, as his friends say, to the public business, found time for free indulgence in those pleasures which wait on the soldier of fortune in his hour of triumph. He was the object of flattery and homage, courted even by those who hated him. For such as did not love the successful chieftain had good cause to fear him; and his exploits were commemorated in *romances* or ballads as rivalling—it was not far from truth—those of the most doughty paladins of chivalry.[23]

Amidst this burst of adulation, the cup of joy commended to Pizarro's lips had one drop of bitterness in it that gave its flavor to all the rest; for, notwithstanding his show of confidence, he looked with unceasing anxiety to the arrival of tidings that might assure him in what light his conduct was regarded by the government at home. This was proved by his jealous precautions to guard the approaches to the coast and to detain the persons of the royal emissaries. He learned, therefore, with no little uneasiness, from Hinojosa, the landing of President Gasca and the purport of his mission. But his discontent was mitigated when he understood that the new envoy had

[22] Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 27.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 8, lib. 2, cap. 7.—MS. de Caravantes.

[23] "Y con esto, estaua siempre en fiestas y recozijo, holgandose mucho que le diessen musicas, cantando romances, y coplas, de todo lo que auia hecho: encaresciendo sus hazañas, y victorias. En lo qual mucho se deleytaua como hombre de gruesso entēdimiento." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 32.

come without military array, without any of the ostentatious trappings of office to impose on the minds of the vulgar, but alone, as it were, in the plain garb of an humble missionary.[24] Pizarro could not discern that under this modest exterior lay a moral power stronger than his own steel-clad battalions, which, operating silently on public opinion,—the more sure that it was silent,—was even now undermining his strength, like a subterraneous channel eating away the foundations of some stately edifice that stands secure in its pride of place!

But, although Gonzalo Pizarro could not foresee this result, he saw enough to satisfy him that it would be safest to exclude the president from Peru. The tidings of his arrival, moreover, quickened his former purpose of sending an embassy to Spain to vindicate his late proceedings and request the royal confirmation of his authority. The person placed at the head of this mission was Lorenzo de Aldana, a cavalier of discretion as well as courage, and high in the confidence of Pizarro, as one of his most devoted partisans. He had occupied some important posts under that chief, one secret of whose successes was the sagacity he showed in the selection of his agents.

[24] Gonzalo, in his letter to Valdivia, speaks of Gasca as a clergyman of a godly reputation, who, without recompense, in the true spirit of a missionary, had come over to settle the affairs of the country: "Dicen ques mui buen christiano i hombre de buena vida i clerigo, i dicen que viene a estas partes con buena intencion i no quiso salario ninguno del Rey sino venir para poner paz en estos reynos con sus cristiandades." Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.

Besides Aldana and one or two cavaliers, the Bishop of Lima was joined in the commission, as likely, from his position, to have a favorable influence on Gonzalo's fortunes at court. Together with the despatches for the government, the envoys were intrusted with a letter to Gasca from the inhabitants of Lima, in which, after civilly congratulating the president on his arrival, they announced their regret that he had come too late. The troubles of the country were now settled by the overthrow of the viceroy, and the nation was reposing in quiet under the rule of Pizarro. An embassy, they stated, was on its way to Castile, *not to solicit pardon*, for they had committed no crime,[25] but to petition the emperor to confirm their leader in the government, as the man in Peru best entitled to it by his virtues.[26] They expressed the conviction that Gasca's presence would only serve to renew the distractions of the country, and they darkly intimated that his attempt to land would probably cost him his life. The language of this singular document was more respectful than might be inferred from its import. It was dated the fourteenth of October, 1546, and was subscribed by seventy of the principal cavaliers in the city.* It was not improbably

[25] "Porque perdõ ninguno de nosotros le pide, porque no entendemos que emos errado, sino seruido à su Magestad: conseruãdo nuestro derecho; que por sus leyes Reales à sus vasallos es permitido." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 33.

[26] "Porque el por sus virtudes es muy amado de todos: y tenido por padre del Perú." Ibid., ubi supra.

* [Some of the seventy, as appears from a letter of Gasca to the Council of the Indies (Panamá, December 28, 1546), sent him a private message stating that they had signed the document from

dictated by Cepeda, whose hand is visible in most of the intrigues of Pizarro's little court. It is also said—the authority is somewhat questionable—that Aldana received instructions from Gonzalo secretly to offer a bribe of fifty thousand *pesos de oro* to the president to prevail on him to return to Castile; and in case of his refusal some darker and more effectual way was to be devised to rid the country of his presence.[27]

[27] Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, loc. cit.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 8, lib. 2, cap. 10.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 6, cap. 8.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. 177.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1546.—Pizarro, in his letter to Valdivia, notices this remonstrance to Gasca, who, with all his *reputation as a saint, was as deep as any man in Spain*, and had now come to send him home, as a reward, no doubt, of his faithful services. "But I and the rest of the cavaliers," he concludes, "have warned him not to set foot here." "Y agora que yo tenia puesta esta tierra en sosiego embiava su parte al de la Gasca que aunque arriba digo que dicen ques un santo, es un hombre mas mañoso que havia en todo España é mas sabio; é asi venia por presidente é Governador, é todo quanto el quiera; é para poderme embiar á mi á España, i á cabo de dos años que andavamos fuera de nuestras casas queria el Rey darme este pago, mas yo con todos los cavalleros deste Reyno le embiavamos á decir que se vaya, sino que harémos con él como con Blasco Nuñez." Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.

fear of their lives. (Col. de Doc. inéd. para la Hist. de España, tom. xlix.) In a letter to Pizarro, dated November 28, 1546, Gasca acknowledges the receipt of the communication brought by Aldana, and in characteristic terms expresses his surprise that his own coming should have given rise to any alarm: "E pareceme que es cosa de maravillar que se entienda que un clérigo tan poco como yo, y que tan solo ha venido, y con tanto deseo de hacer bien y servicio á todos los de esa tierra, hay causa de pensar que si entrase en ella pudiese ser peligroso á V. M. ni á otro alguno." After saying that he would gladly return to Spain, as advised, if he could do so without blame, he refers to his commission, which, at the request of Hinojosa and Aldana, he has decided to produce, and of which he sends accordingly a copy to Pizarro, exhorting him, in conclusion, to consider the matter as one in which, if he errs, he will err against God, the king, the world, his soul, his honor, and his life. Col. de Doc. inéd. para la Hist. de España, tom. xlix.—K.]

Aldana, fortified with his despatches, sped swiftly on his voyage to Panamá. Through him the governor learned the actual state of feeling in the councils of Pizarro; and he listened with regret to the envoy's conviction that no terms would be admitted by that chief or his companions that did not confirm him in the possession of Peru.[28]

Aldana was soon admitted to an audience by the president. It was attended with very different results from what had followed from the conferences with Hinojosa; for Pizarro's envoy was not armed by nature with that stubborn panoply which had hitherto made the other proof against all argument. He now learned with surprise the nature of Gasca's powers, and the extent of the royal concessions to the insurgents. He had embarked with Gonzalo Pizarro on a desperate venture, and he found that it had proved successful. The colony had nothing more, in reason, to demand; and, though devoted in heart to his leader, he did not feel bound by any principle of honor to take part with him, solely to gratify his ambition, in a wild contest with the crown that must end in inevitable ruin. He consequently abandoned his mission to Castile, probably never very palatable to him, and announced

[28] With Aldana's mission to Castile Gonzalo Pizarro closes the important letter so often cited in these pages, and which may be supposed to furnish the best arguments for his own conduct. It is a curious fact that Valdivia, the conqueror of Chili, to whom the epistle is addressed, soon after this openly espoused the cause of Gasca, and his troops formed part of the forces who contended with Pizarro, not long afterwards, at Huarina. Such was the friend on whom Gonzalo relied!

his purpose to accept the pardon proffered by government and support the president in settling the affairs of Peru. He subsequently wrote, it should be added, to his former commander in Lima, stating the course he had taken, and earnestly recommending the latter to follow his example.

The influence of this precedent in so important a person as Aldana, aided, doubtless, by the conviction that no change was now to be expected in Pizarro, while delay would be fatal to himself, at length prevailed over Hinojosa's scruples, and he intimated to Gasca his willingness to place the fleet under his command. The act was performed with great pomp and ceremony. Some of Pizarro's stanchest partisans were previously removed from the vessels; and on the nineteenth of November, 1546, Hinojosa and his captains resigned their commissions into the hands of the president. They next took the oaths of allegiance to Castile; a free pardon for all past offences was proclaimed by the herald from a scaffold erected in the great square of the city; and the president, greeting them as true and loyal vassals of the crown, restored their several commissions to the cavaliers. The royal standard of Spain was then unfurled on board the squadron, and proclaimed that this stronghold of Pizarro's power had passed away from him forever.[29]

[29] Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 6, cap. 9.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 38, 42. —Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. 178.—MS. de Caravantes.—Garcilasso de la Vega,—whose partiality for Gonzalo Pizarro forms a wholesome counterpoise to the unfavorable views taken of his con-

The return of their commissions to the insurgent captains was a politic act in Gasca. It secured the services of the ablest officers in the country, and turned against Pizarro the very arm on which he had most leaned for support. Thus was this great step achieved, without force or fraud, by Gasca's patience and judicious forecast. He was content to bide his time; and he might now rely with well-grounded confidence on the ultimate success of his mission.

duct by most other writers,—in his notice of this transaction, seems disposed to allow little credit to that loyalty which is shown by the sacrifice of a benefactor. Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 4.

CHAPTER II

GASCA ASSEMBLES HIS FORCES—DEFECTION OF PIZARRO'S FOLLOWERS—HE MUSTERS HIS LEVIES — AGITATION IN LIMA — HE ABANDONS THE CITY — GASCA SAILS FROM PANAMÁ — BLOODY BATTLE OF HUARINA

1547

NO sooner was Gasca placed in possession of Panamá and the fleet than he entered on a more decisive course of policy than he had been hitherto allowed to pursue. He made levies of men, and drew together supplies from all quarters. He took care to discharge the arrears already due to the soldiers, and promised liberal pay for the future; for, though mindful that his personal charges should cost little to the crown, he did not stint his expenditure when the public good required it. As the funds in the treasury were exhausted, he obtained loans on the credit of the government from the wealthy citizens of Panamá, who, relying on his good faith, readily made the necessary advances. He next sent letters to the authorities of Guatemala and Mexico, requiring their assistance in carrying on hostilities, if necessary, against the insurgents; and he despatched a summons, in like manner, to Benalcazar, in the provinces north of Peru, to meet him, on his landing in that country, with his whole available force.

The greatest enthusiasm was shown by the people of Panamá in getting the little navy in order for his intended voyage; and prelates and commanders did not disdain to prove their loyalty by taking part in the good work along with the soldiers and sailors.[1] Before his own departure, however, Gasca proposed to send a small squadron of four ships under Aldana, to cruise off the port of Lima, with instructions to give protection to those well affected to the royal cause, and receive them, if need be, on board his vessels. He was also intrusted with authenticated copies of the president's commission, to be delivered to Gonzalo Pizarro,* that the chief might feel there was yet time to return before the gates of mercy were closed against him.[2]

While these events were going on, Gasca's proclamations and letters were doing their work in Peru. It required but little sagacity to perceive

[1] "Y ponia sus fuerças con tanta llaneza y obediencia, que los Obispos y clerigos y los capitanes y mas principales personas eran los que primero echauan mano, y tirauan de las gumenas y cables de los nauios, para los sacar à la costa." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 70.

[2] Ibid., ubi supra.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1546.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. 178.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 6, cap. 9.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 8, lib. 3, cap. 3.

* [A copy of the commission had, as already noticed, been sent to Pizarro in November, 1546. Aldana did not sail till three months later. He carried with him a friar, whom he was to land secretly at Charcas, and who was intrusted with letters for the authorities at Lima and private persons there, copies of pardons, etc. These he was to forward by a monk of the monastery of Sancto Domingo, who would disseminate them secretly. Instruccion de lo que el reverendo padre fray Pedro de Ulloa debe hacer. Fecha 11 de hebrero de 1547.—Col. de Doc. inéd. para la Hist. de España, tom. xlix.—K.]

that the nation at large, secured in the protection of person and property, had nothing to gain by revolution. Interest and duty, fortunately, now lay on the same side; and the ancient sentiment of loyalty, smothered for a time, but not extinguished, revived in the breasts of the people. Still, this was not manifested, at once, by any overt act; for under a strong military rule men dared hardly think for themselves, much less communicate their thoughts to one another. But changes of public opinion, like changes in the atmosphere that come on slowly and imperceptibly, make themselves more and more widely felt, till, by a sort of silent sympathy, they spread to the remotest corners of the land. Some intimations of such a change of sentiment at length found their way to Lima, although all accounts of the president's mission had been jealously excluded from that capital. Gonzalo Pizarro himself became sensible of these symptoms of disaffection, though almost too faint and feeble, as yet, for the most experienced eye to descry in them the coming tempest.

Several of the president's proclamations had been forwarded to Gonzalo by his faithful partisans; and Carbajal, who had been summoned from Potosí, declared they were "more to be dreaded than the lances of Castile."[3] Yet Pizarro did not for a moment lose his confidence in his own strength; and, with a navy like that now in Panamá at his command, he felt he

[3] "Que eran mas de temer aquellas cartas que a las lãças del Rey de Castilla." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 45.

might bid defiance to any enemy on his coasts. He had implicit confidence in the fidelity of Hinojosa.

It was at this period that Paniagua arrived off the port with Gasca's despatches to Pizarro, consisting of the emperor's letter and his own. They were instantly submitted by that chieftain to his trusty counsellors, Carbajal and Cepeda, and their opinions asked as to the course to be pursued. It was the crisis of Pizarro's fate.

Carbajal, whose sagacious eye fully comprehended the position in which they stood, was in favor of accepting the royal grace on the terms proposed; and he intimated his sense of their importance by declaring that "he would pave the way for the bearer of them into the capital with ingots of gold and silver."[4] Cepeda was of a different way of thinking. He was a judge of the Royal Audience, and had been sent to Peru as the immediate counsellor of Blasco Nuñez. But he had turned against the viceroy, had encountered him in battle, and his garments might be said to be yet wet with his blood! What grace was there, then, for him? Whatever respect might be shown to the letter of the royal provisions, in point of fact he must ever live under the Castilian rule a ruined man. He accordingly strongly urged the rejection of Gasca's offers. "They will cost you your government," he said to Pizarro; "the smooth-tongued priest is not so simple a person as you take him to be. He is deep

[4] "Y le enladrillen los caminos por do viniere con barras de plata, y tejos de Oro." Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 5.

and politic.[5] He knows well what promises to make; and, once master of the country, he will know, too, how to keep them."

Carbajal was not shaken by the arguments or the sneers of his companions; and, as the discussion waxed warm, Cepeda taxed his opponent with giving counsel suggested by fears for his own safety,—a foolish taunt, sufficiently disproved by the whole life of the doughty old warrior. Carbajal did not insist further on his own views, however, as he found them unwelcome to Pizarro, and contented himself with coolly remarking that "he had, indeed, no relish for rebellion; but he had as long a neck for a halter, he believed, as any of his companions; and as he could hardly expect to live much longer, at any rate, it was, after all, of little moment to him." [6]

Pizarro, spurred on by a fiery ambition that overleaped every obstacle,[7] did not condescend to count the desperate chances of a contest with the crown. He threw his own weight into the scale with Cepeda. The offer of grace was rejected; and he thus cast away the last tie which held him to his country, and, by the act, proclaimed himself a rebel.[8]

[5] "Que no lo embiauan por hombre sencillo y llano, sino de grandes cautelas, astucias, falsedades y engaños." Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 5.

[6] "Por lo demas, quādo acaezca otra cosa, ya yo he viuido muchos años, y tengo tan buē palmo de pescueço para la soga, como cada uno de vuestras mercedes." Ibid., loc. cit.

[7] "Loca y luciferina soberuia," as Fernandez characterizes the aspiring temper of Gonzalo. Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 15.

[8] MS. de Caravantes.—According to Garcilasso, Paniagua was furnished with secret instructions by the president, empowering him,

It was not long after the departure of Paniagua that Pizarro received tidings of the defection of Aldana and Hinojosa, and of the surrender of the fleet, on which he had expended an immense sum, as the chief bulwark of his power. This unwelcome intelligence was followed by accounts of the further defection of some of the principal towns in the north, and of the assassination of Puelles, the faithful lieutenant to whom he had confided the government of Quito. It was not very long, also, before he found his authority

in case he judged it necessary to the preservation of the royal authority, to confirm Pizarro in the government, "it being little matter if the Devil ruled there, provided the country remained to the crown!" The fact was so reported by Paniagua, who continued in Peru after these events. (Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 5.) This is possible. But it is more probable that a credulous gossip, like Garcilasso, should be in error, than that Charles the Fifth should have been prepared to make such an acknowledgment of his imbecility, or that the man selected for Gasca's confidence should have so indiscreetly betrayed his trust.*

* [Paniagua's report of his mission, dated August 1st, 1547, six months after he had left Lima, has been preserved. He avows that, being in fear of his life, or of not being allowed to return, he had pretended an affection for Pizarro, offering to serve him by a mediation with the crown, and professing to believe that there was no intention to deprive him of the government, Gasca having been sent out only as "president of the Audience," and meaning, it was understood, to return shortly to Spain. These representations he made originally to Cepeda; but on the next day he repeated the whole, "and more," to Pizarro, who was "satisfied," and on his departure insisted on presenting him with a thousand pesos. He concludes with a solemn asseveration that he had used only general phrases and made no explicit promises. Gasca appears, from a letter to the Council of the Indies enclosing this report, to have been satisfied with the proceedings of his agent. His own correspondence with Pizarro at the time of the mission shows that, whatever duplicity may have been used, neither party was in any doubt as to the other's intentions. Col. de Doc. inéd. para la Hist. de España, tom. xlix.—K.]

assailed in the opposite quarter at Cuzco; for Centena, the loyal chieftain who, as the reader may remember, had been driven by Carbajal to take refuge in a cave near Arequipa, had issued from his concealment after remaining there a year, and, on learning the arrival of Gasca, had again raised the royal standard. Then, collecting a small body of followers, and falling on Cuzco by night, he made himself master of that capital, defeated the garrison who held it, and secured it for the crown. Marching soon after into the province of Charcas, the bold chief allied himself with the officer who commanded for Pizarro in La Plata; and their combined forces, to the number of a thousand, took up a position on the borders of Lake Titicaca, where the two cavaliers coolly awaited an opportunity to take the field against their ancient commander.

Gonzalo Pizarro, touched to the heart by the desertion of those in whom he most confided, was stunned by the dismal tidings of his losses coming so thick upon him. Yet he did not waste his time in idle crimination or complaint, but immediately set about making preparations to meet the storm with all his characteristic energy. He wrote at once to such of his captains as he believed still faithful, commanding them to be ready with their troops to march to his assistance at the shortest notice. He reminded them of their obligations to him, and that their interests were identical with his own. The president's commission, he added, had been made out before the news had reached Spain

of the battle of Añaquito, and could never cover a pardon to those concerned in the death of the viceroy.[9]

Pizarro was equally active in enforcing his levies in the capital and in putting them in the best fighting order. He soon saw himself at the head of a thousand men, beautifully equipped, and complete in all their appointments; "as gallant an array," says an old writer, "though so small in number, as ever trod the plains of Italy,"—displaying, in the excellence of their arms, their gorgeous uniforms, and the caparisons of their horses, a magnificence that could be furnished only by the silver of Peru.[10] Each company was provided with a new stand of colors, emblazoned with its peculiar device. Some bore the initials and arms of Pizarro, and one or two of these were audaciously surmounted by a crown, as if to intimate the rank to which their commander might aspire.[11]

[9] Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 6, cap. 11, 13.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 45, 59.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1547.

[10] "Mil Hombres tan bien armados i adereçados, como se han visto en Italia, en la maior prosperidad, porque ninguno havia, demas de las Armas, que no llevase Calças, i Jubon de Seda, i muchos de Tela de Oro, i de Brocado, i otros bordados, i recamados de Oro, i Plata, con mucha Chaperia de Oro por los Sombreros, i especialmente por Frascos, i Caxas de Arcabuces." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 6, cap. 11.

[11] Ibid., ubi supra.—Some writers even assert that Pizarro was preparing for his coronation at this time, and that he had actually despatched his summons to the different towns to send their deputies to assist at it: "Queria apresurar su coronacion, y para ello despachó cartas á todas las ciudades del Perú." (Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1547.) But it is hardly probable he could have placed so blind a confidence in the colonists at this crisis as to have meditated

Among the leaders most conspicuous on this occasion was Cepeda, "who," in the words of a writer of his time, "had exchanged the robe of the licentiate for the plumed casque and mailed harness of the warrior." [12] But the cavalier to whom Pizarro confided the chief care of organizing his battalions was the veteran Carbajal, who had studied the art of war under the best captains of Europe, and whose life of adventure had been a practical commentary on their early lessons. It was on his arm that Gonzalo most leaned in the hour of danger; and well had it been for him if he had profited by his counsels at an earlier period.

It gives one some idea of the luxurious accommodations of Pizarro's forces, that he endeavored to provide each of his musketeers with a horse. The expenses incurred by him were enormous. The immediate cost of his preparations, we are told, was not less than half a million of *pesos de oro;* and his pay to the cavaliers, and, indeed, to the common soldiers, in his little army, was on an extravagant scale, nowhere to be met with but on the silver soil of Peru.[13]

so rash a step. The loyal Castilian historians are not slow to receive reports to the discredit of the *rebel.**

[12] "El qual en este tiempo, oluidado de lo que conuenia a sus letras, y profession, y officio de Oydor; salio en calças jubon, y cuera, de muchos recamados; y gorra con plumas." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 62.

[13] Ibid., ubi supra.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 6, cap. 11.—Her-

* [The fact would, however, seem to be established by a letter from Carbajal to Pizarro, dated March 17th, 1547, in which he speaks of "la corona de Rey, con que, en tan breves dias, emos de coronar á vuestra Señoria." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 49.—K.]

When his own funds were exhausted, he supplied the deficiency by fines imposed on the rich citizens of Lima as the price of exemption from service, by forced loans, and various other schemes of military exaction.[14] From this time, it is said, the chieftain's temper underwent a visible change.[15] He became more violent in his passions, more impatient of control, and indulged more freely in acts of cruelty and license. The desperate cause in which he was involved made him reckless of consequences. Though naturally frank and confiding, the frequent defection of his followers filled him with suspicion. He knew not in whom to confide.* Every one who showed himself indifferent to his cause, or was suspected of being so, was dealt with as an open enemy. The greatest distrust prevailed in Lima. No man dared confide in his neighbor. Some concealed their effects; others contrived to elude the vigilance of the sentinels, and hid themselves in the neighboring woods and mountains.[16] No one was

rera, Hist. general, dec. 8, lib. 3, cap. 5.—Montesinos, Annales, año 1547.

[14] Fernandez, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 62.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1547.

[15] Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. 172.

[16] " Andaba la Gente tan asombrada con el temor de la muerte, que no se podian entender, ni tenian animo para huir, i algunos, que

* [This has been the case, according to his own statement, for a long time. He told Paniagua in the preceding January that he was unable to sleep at night, and that he should be glad to lay down the burden of government, for which he was unfitted, and spend his time in hunting and other amusements; but he added that he could trust no one, and would surrender the government only to his brother Hernando. Col. de Doc. inéd. para la Hist. de España, tom. xlix.—K.]

allowed to enter or leave the city without a license. All commerce, all intercourse, with other places was cut off. It was long since the fifths belonging to the crown had been remitted to Castile, as Pizarro had appropriated them to his own use. He now took possession of the mints, broke up the royal stamps, and issued a debased coin, emblazoned with his own cipher.[17] It was the most decisive act of sovereignty.

At this gloomy period the lawyer Cepeda contrived a solemn farce, the intent of which was to give a sort of legal sanction to the rebel cause in the eyes of the populace. He caused a process to be prepared against Gasca, Hinojosa, and Aldana, in which they were accused of treason against the existing government of Peru, were convicted, and condemned to death. This instrument he submitted to a number of jurists in the capital, requiring their signatures. But they had no mind thus inevitably to implicate themselves by affixing their names to such a paper; and they evaded it by representing that it would only serve to cut off all chance, should any of the accused be so disposed, of their again embracing the cause they had deserted. Cepeda was the only man who signed the document. Carbajal treated the whole

hallaron mejor aparejo, se escondieron por los Cañaverales, i Cuevas, enterrando sus Haciendas." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 6, cap. 15.

[17] Rel. anonima, MS.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1547.—"Assi mismo echó Gõzalo Piçarro a toda la plata que gastaua y destribuya su marca, que era una G. rebuelta en una P. y pregonò que so pena de muerte, todos recibiessen por plata fina la que tuuiesse aquella marca: sin ensayo, ni otra diligencia alguna. Y desta suerte hizo passar mucha plata de ley baja por fina." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 62.

thing with ridicule. "What is the object of your process?" said he to Cepeda. "Its object," replied the latter, "is to prevent delay, that, if taken at any time, the guilty party may be at once led to execution." "I cry you mercy," retorted Carbajal; "I thought there must be some virtue in the instrument, that would have killed them outright. Let but one of these same traitors fall into my hands, and I will march him off to execution without waiting for the sentence of a court, I promise you!" [18]

While this paper war was going on, news was brought that Aldana's squadron was off the port of Callao. That commander had sailed from Panamá about the middle of February, 1547. On his passage down the coast he had landed at Truxillo, where the citizens welcomed him with enthusiasm and eagerly proclaimed their submission to the royal authority. He received at the same time messages from several of Pizarro's officers in the interior, intimating their return to their duty and their readiness to support the president. Aldana named Caxamalca as a place of rendezvous, where they should concentrate their forces and await the landing of Gasca. He then continued his voyage towards Lima.

No sooner was Pizarro informed of his ap-

[18] "Riose mucho entonces Caruajal y dixo; que segũ auia hecho la instancia, que auia entendido, que la justicia como rayo, auia de yr luego a justiciarlos. Y dezia que si el los tuuiesse presos, no se le daria vu clauo por su sentẽcia, ni firmas." (Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 55.) Among the jurists in Lima who thus independently resisted Cepeda's requisition to sign the paper was the Licentiate Polo Ondegardo, a man of much discretion, and one of the best authorities for the ancient institutions of the Incas.

proach than, fearful lest it might have a disastrous effect in seducing his followers from their fidelity, he marched them about a league out of the city, and there encamped. He was two leagues from the coast, and he posted a guard on the shore, to intercept all communication with the vessels. Before leaving the capital, Cepeda resorted to an expedient for securing the inhabitants more firmly, as he conceived, in Pizarro's interests. He caused the citizens to be assembled, and made them a studied harangue, in which he expatiated on the services of their governor and the security which the country had enjoyed under his rule. He then told them that every man was at liberty to choose for himself,—to remain under the protection of their present ruler, or, if they preferred, to transfer their allegiance to his enemy. He invited them to speak their minds, but required every one who should still continue under Pizarro to take an oath of fidelity to his cause, with the assurance that, if any should be so false hereafter as to violate this pledge, he would pay for it with his life.[19] There was no one found bold enough—with his head thus in the lion's mouth—to swerve from his obedience to Pizarro; and every man took the oath prescribed, which was administered in the most solemn and imposing form by the licentiate. Carbajal, as usual, made a jest of the whole proceeding. "How long," he asked his companion, "do you

[19] Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 61.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1547. Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 6, cap. 11, 14.

think these same oaths will stand? The first wind that blows off the coast after we are gone will scatter them in air!" His prediction was soon verified.

Meantime, Aldana anchored off the port, where there was no vessel of the insurgents to molest him. By Cepeda's advice, some four or five had been burnt a short time before, during the absence of Carbajal, in order to cut off all means by which the inhabitants could leave the place. This was deeply deplored by the veteran soldier on his return. "It was destroying," he said, "the guardian angels of Lima." [20] And certainly under such a commander, they might now have stood Pizarro in good stead; but his star was on the wane.

The first act of Aldana was to cause the copy of Gasca's powers, with which he had been intrusted, to be conveyed to his ancient commander, by whom it was indignantly torn in pieces. Aldana next contrived, by means of his agents, to circulate among the citizens, and even the soldiers of the camp, the president's manifestoes. They were not long in producing their effect. Few had been at all aware of the real purport of Gasca's mission, of the extent of his powers, or of the generous terms offered by the government. They shrank from the desperate course into which they had been thus unwarily seduced, and they sought only in what way they could with least

[20] "Entre otras cosas dixo a Gonçalo Piçarro vuesa Señoria mandò quemar cinco angeles que tenia en su puerto para guarda y defensa de la costa del Peru." Garcilasso, Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 6.

danger extricate themselves from their present position and return to their allegiance. Some escaped by night from the camp, eluded the vigilance of the sentinels, and effected their retreat on board the vessels. Some were taken, and found no quarters at the hands of Carbajal and his merciless ministers. But, where the spirit of disaffection was abroad, means of escape were not wanting.

As the fugitives were cut off from Lima and the neighboring coast, they secreted themselves in the forests and mountains, and watched their opportunity for making their way to Truxillo and other ports at a distance; and so contagious was the example that it not unfrequently happened that the very soldiers sent in pursuit of the deserters joined with them. Among those that fled was the Licentiate Carbajal, who must not be confounded with his military namesake. He was the same cavalier whose brother had been put to death in Lima by Blasco Nuñez, and who revenged himself, as we have seen, by imbruing his own hands in the blood of the viceroy. That a person thus implicated should trust to the royal pardon showed that no one need despair of it; and the example proved most disastrous to Pizarro.[21]

Carbajal, who made a jest of every thing, even of the misfortunes which pinched him the sharpest, when told of the desertion of his comrades, amused himself by humming the words of a popular ditty:—

[21] Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. 180.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 63, 65.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 6, cap. 15, 16.

"The wind blows the hairs off my head, mother;
Two at a time, it blows them away!" [22]

But the defection of his followers made a deeper impression on Pizarro, and he was sorely distressed as he beheld the gallant array, to which he had so confidently looked for gaining his battles, thus melting away like a morning mist. Bewildered by the treachery of those in whom he had most trusted, he knew not where to turn, nor what course to take. It was evident that he must leave his present dangerous quarters without loss of time. But whither should he direct his steps? In the north, the great towns had abandoned his cause, and the president was already marching against him; while Centeno held the passes of the south, with a force double his own. In this emergency, he at length resolved to occupy Arequipa, a seaport still true to him, where he might remain till he had decided on some future course of operations.

After a painful but rapid march, Gonzalo arrived at this place, where he was speedily joined by a reinforcement that he had detached for the recovery of Cuzco. But so frequent had been the desertions from both companies—though in Pizarro's corps these had greatly lessened since the departure from the neighborhood of Lima—that his whole number did not exceed five hundred men, less than half of the force which he had so recently mustered in the capital. To such humble circum-

[22] "Estos mis Cabellicos, Madre,
Dos á dos me los lleva el Aire."

Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. 180.

stances was the man now reduced who had so lately lorded it over the land with unlimited sway! Still the chief did not despond. He had gathered new spirit from the excitement of his march and his distance from Lima; and he seemed to recover his former confidence, as he exclaimed, "It is misfortune that teaches us who are our friends. If but ten only remain true to me, fear not but I will again be master of Peru!" [23]

No sooner had the rebel forces withdrawn from the neighborhood of Lima than the inhabitants of that city, little troubled, as Carbajal had predicted, by their compulsory oaths of allegiance to Pizarro, threw open their gates to Aldana, who took possession of this important place in the name of the president. The latter, meanwhile, had sailed with his whole fleet from Panamá on the tenth of April, 1547.* The first part of his voyage was prosperous; but he was soon perplexed by contrary currents, and the weather became rough and tempestuous. The violence of the storm continuing day after day, the sea was lashed into fury, and the fleet was tossed about on the billows, which ran mountain-high, as if emulating the wild character of the region

[23] "Aunque siempre dijo: que con diez Amigos que le quedasen, havia de conservarse, i conquistar de nuevo el Perù: tanta era su saña, ò su sobervia." Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., loc. cit.

* [In a letter written on the 12th at Taboga, an islet ten miles south of Panamá where the fleet remained two days taking in water, Gasca mentions his force as consisting of eighteen ships and one galiot, with eight hundred and twenty-one soldiers, all well equipped, and including many persons of quality. Col. de Doc. inéd. para la Hist. de España, tom. xlix.—K.]

they bounded. The rain descended in torrents, and the lightning was so incessant that the vessels, to quote the lively language of the chronicler, "seemed to be driving through seas of flame!"[24] The hearts of the stoutest mariners were filled with dismay. They considered it hopeless to struggle against the elements, and they loudly demanded to return to the continent and postpone the voyage till a more favorable season of the year.

But the president saw in this the ruin of his cause, as well as of the loyal vassals who had engaged, on his landing, to support it. "I am willing to die," he said, "but not to return;" and, regardless of the remonstrances of his more timid followers, he insisted on carrying as much sail as the ships could possibly bear, at every interval of the storm.[25] Meanwhile, to divert the minds of the seamen from their present danger, Gasca amused them by explaining some of the strange phenomena exhibited by the ocean in the tempest, which had filled their superstitious minds with mysterious dread.[26]

[24] "Y los truenos y relāpagos eran tantos y tales; que siempre parecia que estauan en llamas, y que sobre ellos venian Rayos (que en todas aquellas partes caen muchos)." (Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 71.) The vivid coloring of the old chronicler shows that he had himself been familiar with these tropical tempests on the Pacific.

[25] "Y con lo poco que en aquella sazon, el Presidente estimaua la vida si no auia de hazer la jornada: y el gran desseo que tenia de hazerla se puso cōtra ellos diziendo, que qual quiera que le tocasse en abaxar vela, le costaria la vida." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 71.

[26] The phosphoric lights sometimes seen in a storm at sea were observed to hover round the masts and rigging of the president's vessel; and he amused the seamen, according to Fernandez, by explaining the phenomenon and telling the fables to which it had given

Signals had been given for the ships to make the best of their way, each for itself, to the island of Gorgona. Here they arrived, one after another, with but a single exception, though all more or less shattered by the weather. The president waited only for the fury of the elements to spend itself, when he again embarked, and, on smoother waters, crossed over to Manta. From this place he soon after continued his voyage to Tumbez, and landed at that port on the thirteenth of June. He was everywhere received with enthusiasm, and all seemed anxious to efface the remembrance of the past by professions of future fidelity to the crown. Gasca received, also, numerous letters of congratulation from cavaliers in the interior, most of whom had formerly taken service under Pizarro. He made courteous acknowledgments for their offers of assistance, and commanded them to repair to Caxamalca, the general place of rendezvous.

To this same spot he sent Hinojosa, so soon as that officer had disembarked with the land-forces from the fleet, ordering him to take command of the levies assembled there and then join him at Xauxa. Here he determined to establish his head-quarters. It lay in a rich and abundant territory, and by its central position afforded a point for acting with greatest advantage against the enemy.*

rise in ancient mythology. This little anecdote affords a key to Gasca's popularity with even the humblest classes.

* [The location of Xauxa is one of the most healthful in Peru, or, indeed, in the world. The Spaniards seem quickly to have become aware of this fact. The air is dry and health-giving. Pulmonary diseases are unknown.—M.]

He then moved forward, at the head of a small detachment of cavalry, along the level road on the coast towards Truxillo. After halting for a short time in that loyal city, he traversed the mountain-range on the southeast, and soon entered the fruitful valley of Xauxa. There he was presently joined by reinforcements from the north, as well as from the principal places on the coast, and, not long after his arrival, received a message from Centeno, informing him that he held the passes by which Gonzalo Pizarro was preparing to make his escape from the country, and that the insurgent chief must soon fall into his hands.

The royal camp was greatly elated by these tidings. The war, then, was at length terminated, and that without the president having been called upon so much as to lift his sword against a Spaniard. Several of his counsellors now advised him to disband the greater part of his forces, as burdensome and no longer necessary. But the president was too wise to weaken his strength before he had secured the victory. He consented, however, to countermand the requisition for levies from Mexico and the adjoining colonies, as now feeling sufficiently strong in the general loyalty of the country. But, concentrating his forces at Xauxa, he established his quarters in that town, as he had at first intended, resolved to await there tidings of the operations in the south. The result was different from what he had expected.[27]

[27] For the preceding pages, see Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 7, cap. 1.—Herrera, Hist. general,

Pizarro, meanwhile, whom we left at Arequipa, had decided, after much deliberation, to evacuate Peru and pass into Chili. In this territory, beyond the president's jurisdiction, he might find a safe retreat. The fickle people, he thought, would soon weary of their new ruler; and he could then rally in sufficient strength to resume active operations for the recovery of his domain. Such were the calculations of the rebel chieftain. But how was he to effect his object, while the passes among the mountains, where his route lay, were held by Centeno with a force more than double his own? He resolved to try negotiation; for that captain had once served under him, and had, indeed, been most active in persuading Pizarro to take on himself the office of procurator. Advancing, accordingly, in the direction of Lake Titicaca, in the neighborhood of which Centeno had pitched his camp, Gonzalo despatched an emissary to his quarters to open a negotiation. He called to his adversary's recollection the friendly relations that had once subsisted between them, and reminded him of one occasion in particular, in which he had spared his life when convicted of a conspiracy against himself. He harbored no sentiments of unkindness, he said, for Centeno's recent conduct, and had not now come to seek a quarrel with him.

dec. 8, lib. 3, cap. 14, et seq.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 71–77.—MS. de Caravantes.—This last writer, who held an important post in the department of colonial finance, had opportunities of information which have enabled him to furnish several particulars not to be met with elsewhere, respecting the principal actors in these turbulent times. His work, still in manuscript, which formerly existed in the archives of the University of Salamanca, has been transferred to the royal library at Madrid.

His purpose was to abandon Peru; and the only favor he had to request of his former associate was to leave him a free passage across the mountains.*

To this communication Centeno made answer, in terms as courtly as those of Pizarro himself, that he was not unmindful of their ancient friendship. He was now ready to serve his former commander in any way not inconsistent with honor or obedience to his sovereign. But he was there in arms for the royal cause, and he could not swerve from his duty. If Pizarro would but rely on his faith and surrender himself up, he pledged his knightly word to use all his interest with the government to secure as favorable terms for him and his followers as had been granted to the rest of their countrymen. Gonzalo listened to the smooth promises of his ancient comrade with bitter scorn depicted in his countenance, and, snatching the letter from his secretary, cast it away from him with indignation. There was nothing left but an appeal to arms.[28]

He at once broke up his encampment, and directed his march on the borders of Lake Titicaca, near which lay his rival. He resorted, however,

[28] Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 16.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 7.

* [This is an incorrect account, unless it refers to a later letter than one written by Pizarro on the 8th of August from the neighborhood of Arequipa,—"deste tambo de Hacari,"—in which, after reminding Centeno of their former friendship, he proposed a union of their forces, as the means of saving the country from invasion and ruin. His design of quitting it was probably the result of the failure of this appeal. Col. de Doc. inéd. para la Hist. de España, tom. xlix.—K.]

to stratagem, that he might still, if possible, avoid an encounter. He sent forward his scouts in a different direction from that which he intended to take, and then quickened his march on Huarina. This was a small town situated on the south-eastern extremity of Lake Titicaca, the shores of which, the seat of the primitive civilization of the Incas, were soon to resound with the murderous strife of their more civilized conquerors!

But Pizarro's movements had been secretly communicated to Centeno, and that commander, accordingly, changing his ground, took up a position not far from Huarina, on the same day on which Gonzalo reached this place. The vedettes of the two camps came in sight of each other that evening, and the rival forces, lying on their arms, prepared for action on the following morning.

It was the twenty-sixth of October, 1547, when the two commanders, having formed their troops in order of battle, advanced to the encounter on the plains of Huarina. The ground, defended on one side by a bold spur of the Andes, and not far removed on the other from the waters of Titicaca, was an open and level plain, well suited to military manœuvres. It seemed as if prepared by Nature as the lists for an encounter.

Centeno's army amounted to about a thousand men. His cavalry consisted of near two hundred and fifty, well equipped and mounted. Among them were several gentlemen of family, some of whom had once followed the banners of Pizarro; the whole forming an efficient corps, in which rode some of the best lances of Peru. His arquebusiers

were less numerous, not exceeding a hundred and fifty, indifferently provided with ammunition. The remainder, and much the larger part of Centeno's army, consisted of spearmen, irregular levies hastily drawn together and possessed of little discipline.[29]

This corps of infantry formed the centre of his line, flanked by the arquebusiers in two nearly equal divisions, while his cavalry were also disposed in two bodies on the right and left wings. Unfortunately, Centeno had been for the past week ill of a pleurisy,—so ill, indeed, that on the preceding day he had been bled several times. He was now too feeble to keep his saddle, but was carried in a litter, and when he had seen his men formed in order he withdrew to a distance from the field, unable to take part in the action. But Solano, the militant bishop of Cuzco, who, with several of his followers, took part in the engagement,—a circumstance, indeed, of no strange occurrence,—rode along the ranks with the crucifix in his hand, bestowing his benediction on the soldiers and exhorting each man to do his duty.

Pizarro's forces were less than half of his rival's, not amounting to more than four hundred and eighty men. The horse did not muster above eighty-five in all, and he posted them in a single body on the right of his battalion. The strength of his army lay in his arquebusiers, about three

[29] In the estimate of Centeno's forces—which ranges, in the different accounts, from seven hundred to twelve hundred—I have taken the intermediate number of a thousand adopted by Zarate, as, on the whole, more probable than either extreme.

hundred and fifty in number. It was an admirable corps, commanded by Carbajal, by whom it had been carefully drilled. Considering the excellence of its arms and its thorough discipline, this little body of infantry might be considered as the flower of the Peruvian soldiery, and on it Pizarro mainly relied for the success of the day.[30] The remainder of his force, consisting of pikemen, not formidable for their numbers, though, like the rest of the infantry, under excellent discipline, he distributed on the left of his musketeers, so as to repel the enemy's horse.

Pizarro himself had charge of the cavalry, taking his place, as usual, in the foremost rank. He was superbly accoutred. Over his shining mail he wore a sobre-vest of slashed velvet of a rich crimson color; and he rode a high-mettled charger, whose gaudy caparisons, with the showy livery of his rider, made the fearless commander the most conspicuous object in the field.

His lieutenant, Carbajal, was equipped in a very different style. He wore armor of proof of the most homely appearance, but strong and serviceable; and his steel bonnet, with its closely-barred visor of the same material, protected his head from more than one desperate blow on that day. Over his arms he wore a surcoat of a greenish color, and he rode an active, strong-boned jennet, which, though capable of enduring fatigue, possessed neither grace nor beauty. It would not

[30] *Flor de la milicia del Peru,* says Garcilasso de la Vega, who compares Carbajal to an expert chess-player disposing his pieces in such a manner as must infallibly secure him the victory. Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 18.

have been easy to distinguish the veteran from the most ordinary cavalier.

The two hosts arrived within six hundred paces of each other, when they both halted. Carbajal preferred to receive the attack of the enemy rather than advance farther; for the ground he now occupied afforded a free range for his musketry, unobstructed by the trees or bushes that were sprinkled over some other parts of the field. There was a singular motive, in addition, for retaining his present position. The soldiers were encumbered, some with two, some with three, arquebuses each, being the arms left by those who from time to time had deserted the camp. This uncommon supply of muskets, however serious an impediment on a march, might afford great advantage to troops awaiting an assault; since, from the imperfect knowledge as well as construction of fire-arms at that day, much time was wasted in loading them.[31]

Preferring, therefore, that the enemy should begin the attack, Carbajal came to a halt, while the opposite squadron, after a short respite, continued their advance a hundred paces farther. Seeing that they then remained immovable, Carbajal detached a small party of skirmishers to the front, in order to provoke them; but it was soon encountered by a similar party of the enemy, and

[31] Garcilasso, Com. Real., ubi supra.—The historian's father—of the same name with himself—was one of the few noble cavaliers who remained faithful to Gonzalo Pizarro in the wane of his fortunes. He was present at the battle of Huarina; and the particulars which he gave his son enabled the latter to supply many deficiencies in the reports of historians.

some shots were exchanged, though with little damage to either side. Finding this manœuvre fail, the veteran ordered his men to advance a few paces, still hoping to provoke his antagonist to the charge. This succeeded. "We lose honor," exclaimed Centeno's soldiers; who, with a bastard sort of chivalry, belonging to undisciplined troops, felt it a disgrace to await an assault. In vain their officers called out to them to remain at their post. Their commander was absent, and they were urged on by the cries of a frantic friar, named Domingo Ruiz, who, believing the Philistines were delivered into their hands, called out, "Now is the time! Onward, onward! fall on the enemy!"[32] They needed nothing further; and the men rushed forward in tumultuous haste, the pikemen carrying their levelled weapons so heedlessly as to interfere with one another, and in some instances to wound their comrades. The musketeers, at the same time, kept up a disorderly fire as they advanced, which, from their rapid motion and the distance, did no execution.

Carbajal was well pleased to see his enemies thus wasting their ammunition. Though he allowed a few muskets to be discharged, in order to stimulate his opponents the more, he commanded the great body of his infantry to reserve their fire till every shot could take effect. As he knew the tendency of marksmen to shoot above the mark, he directed his men to aim at the girdle, or even a little below it; adding that a shot that

[32] "A las manos, á las manos; á ellos, á ellos." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 79.

fell short might still do damage, while one that passed a hair's breadth above the head was wasted.[33]

The veteran's company stood calm and unmoved, as Centeno's rapidly advanced; but when the latter had arrived within a hundred paces of their antagonists, Carbajal gave the word to fire. An instantaneous volley ran along the line, and a tempest of balls was poured into the ranks of the assailants, with such unerring aim that more than a hundred fell dead on the field, while a still greater number were wounded. Before they could recover from their disorder, Carbajal's men, snatching up their remaining pieces, discharged them with the like dreadful effect into the thick of the enemy. The confusion of the latter was now complete. Unable to sustain the incessant shower of balls which fell on them from the scattering fire kept up by the arquebusiers, they were seized with a panic, and fled, scarcely making a show of further fight, from the field.

But very different was the fortune of the day in the cavalry combat. Gonzalo Pizarro had drawn up his troops somewhat in the rear of Carbajal's right, in order to give the latter a freer range for the play of his musketry. When the enemy's horse on the left galloped briskly against him, Pizarro, still favoring Carbajal,—whose fire, moreover, inflicted some loss on the assailants,—advanced but a few rods to receive the charge. Centeno's squadron, accordingly, came thundering on in full career, and, notwith-

[33] Garcilasso, Com. Real., ubi supra.

standing the mischief sustained from their enemy's musketry, fell with such fury on their adversaries as to overturn them, man and horse, in the dust; "riding over their prostrate bodies," says the historian, "as if they had been a flock of sheep!"[34] The latter, with great difficulty recovering from the first shock, attempted to rally and sustain the fight on more equal terms.

Yet the chief could not regain the ground he had lost. His men were driven back at all points. Many were slain, many more wounded, on both sides, and the ground was covered with the dead bodies of men and horses. But the loss fell much the most heavily on Pizarro's troop; and the greater part of those who escaped with life were obliged to surrender as prisoners. Cepeda, who fought with the fury of despair, received a severe cut from a sabre across the face, which disabled him and forced him to yield.[35] Pizarro, after seeing his best and bravest fall around him, was set upon by three or four cavaliers at once. Disentangling himself from the mêlée, he put spurs to his horse, and the noble animal, bleeding from a severe wound across the back, outstripped all his pursuers except one, who stayed him by seizing the bridle. It would have gone hard with Gonzalo, but, grasping a light battle-axe, which hung by

[34] "Los de Diego Centeno, como yuan con la pujança de vna carrera larga, lleuaron a los de Gonçalo Piçarro de encuentro, y los tropellaron como si fueran ouejas, y cayeron cauallos y caualleros." Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 19.

[35] Cepeda's wound laid open his nose, leaving so hideous a scar that he was obliged afterwards to cover it with a patch, as Garcilasso, who frequently saw him in Cuzco, tells us.

his side, he dealt such a blow on the head of his enemy's horse that he plunged violently and compelled his rider to release his hold. A number of arquebusiers, in the mean time, seeing Pizarro's distress, sprang forward to his rescue, slew two of his assailants who had now come up with him, and forced the others to fly in their turn.[36]

The rout of the cavalry was complete, and Pizarro considered the day as lost, as he heard the enemy's trumpet sending forth the note of victory. But the sounds had scarcely died away when they were taken up by the opposite side. Centeno's infantry had been discomfited, as we have seen, and driven off the ground. But his cavalry on the right had charged Carbajal's left, consisting of spearmen mingled with arquebusiers. The horse rode straight against this formidable phalanx. But they were unable to break through the dense array of pikes, held by the steady hands of troops who stood firm and fearless on their post; while at the same time the assailants were greatly annoyed by the galling fire of the arquebusiers in the rear of the spearmen. Finding it impracticable to make a breach, the horsemen rode round the flanks in much disorder, and finally joined themselves with the victorious squadron of

[36] According to most authorities, Pizarro's horse was not only wounded but slain in the fight, and the loss was supplied by his friend Garcilasso de la Vega, who mounted him on his own. This timely aid to the rebel did no service to the generous cavalier in after-times, but was urged against him by his enemies as a crime. The fact is stoutly denied by his son, the historian, who seems anxious to relieve his father from this honorable imputation, which threw a cloud over both their fortunes. Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 23.

Centeno's cavalry in the rear. Both parties now attempted another charge on Carbajal's battalion. But, his men facing about with the promptness and discipline of well-trained soldiers, the rear was converted into the front. The same forest of spears was presented to the attack; while an incessant discharge of balls punished the audacity of the cavaliers, who, broken and completely dispirited by their ineffectual attempt, at length imitated the example of the panic-struck foot and abandoned the field.

Pizarro and a few of his comrades still fit for action followed up the pursuit for a short distance only, as, indeed, they were in no condition themselves, nor sufficiently strong in numbers, long to continue it. The victory was complete, and the insurgent chief took possession of the deserted tents of the enemy, where an immense booty was obtained in silver,[37] and where he also found the tables spread for the refreshment of Centeno's soldiers after their return from the field. So confident were they of success! The repast now served the necessities of their conquerors. Such is the fortune of war! It was, indeed, a most decisive action; and Gonzalo Pizarro, as he rode over the field strewed with the corpses of his enemies, was observed several times

[37] The booty amounted to no less than one million four hundred thousand *pesos*, according to Fernandez: "El saco que vuo fue grande: que se dixo ser de mas de vn millon y quatrocientos mil pesos." (Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 79.) The amount is, doubtless, grossly exaggerated. But we get to be so familiar with the golden wonders of Peru that, like the reader of the "Arabian Nights," we become of too easy faith to resort to the vulgar standard of probability.

to cross himself and exclaim, "Jesu! what a victory!"

No less than three hundred and fifty of Centeno's followers were killed, and the number of wounded was even greater. More than a hundred of these are computed to have perished from exposure during the following night; for, although the climate in this elevated region is temperate, yet the night-winds blowing over the mountains are sharp and piercing, and many a wounded wretch who might have been restored by careful treatment was chilled by the damps and found a stiffened corpse at sunrise. The victory was not purchased without a heavy loss on the part of the conquerors, a hundred or more of whom were left on the field. Their bodies lay thick on that part of the ground occupied by Pizarro's cavalry, where the fight raged hottest. In this narrow space were found, also, the bodies of more than a hundred horses, the greater part of which, as well as those of their riders, usually slain with them, belonged to the victorious army. It was the most fatal battle that had yet been fought on the blood-stained soil of Peru.[38]

[38] "La mas sangrienta batalla que vuo en el Perù." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 79.—In the accounts of this battle there are discrepancies, as usual, which the historian must reconcile as he can. But, on the whole, there is a general conformity in the outline and in the prominent points. All concur in representing it as the bloodiest fight that had yet occurred between the Spaniards in Peru, and all assign to Carbajal the credit of the victory.—For authorities besides Garcilasso and Fernandez, repeatedly quoted, see Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS. (he was present in the action).—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 7, cap. 3.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 8, lib. 4, cap. 2.—Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. 181.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1547.

The glory of the day—the melancholy glory—must be referred almost wholly to Carbajal and his valiant squadron. The judicious arrangements of the old warrior, with the thorough discipline and unflinching courage of his followers, retrieved the fortunes of the fight, when it was nearly lost by the cavalry, and secured the victory.

Carbajal, proof against all fatigue, followed up the pursuit with those of his men that were in condition to join him. Such of the unhappy fugitives as fell into his hands—most of whom had been traitors to the cause of Pizarro—were sent to instant execution. The laurels he had won in the field against brave men in arms, like himself, were tarnished by cruelty towards his defenceless captives. Their commander, Centeno, more fortunate, made his escape. Finding the battle lost, he quitted his litter, threw himself upon his horse, and, notwithstanding his illness, urged on by the dreadful doom that awaited him if taken, he succeeded in making his way into the neighboring sierra. Here he vanished from his pursuers, and, like a wounded stag, with the chase close upon his track, he still contrived to elude it, by plunging into the depths of the forests, till, by a circuitous route, he miraculously succeeded in effecting his escape to Lima. The Bishop of Cuzco, who went off in a different direction, was no less fortunate. Happy for him that he did not fall into the hands of the ruthless Carbajal, who, as the bishop had once been a partisan of Pizarro, would, to judge from the little respect he usually showed those of his cloth, have felt as

little compunction in sentencing him to the gibbet as if he had been the meanest of the common file.[39]

On the day following the action, Gonzalo Pizarro caused the bodies of the soldiers, still lying side by side on the field where they had been so lately engaged together in mortal strife, to be deposited in a common sepulchre. Those of higher rank—for distinctions of rank were not to be forgotten in the grave—were removed to the church of the village of Huarina, which gave its name to the battle. There they were interred with all fitting solemnity. But in later times they were transported to the cathedral church of La Paz, "The City of Peace," and laid under a mausoleum erected by general subscription in that quarter. For few there were who had not to mourn the loss of some friend or relative on that fatal day.

The victor now profited by his success to send detachments to Arequipa, La Plata, and other cities in that part of the country, to raise funds and reinforcements for the war. His own losses were more than compensated by the number of the vanquished party who were content to take service under his banner. Mustering his forces, he directed his march to Cuzco, which capital, though occasionally seduced into a display of loyalty to the crown, had early manifested an attachment to his cause.

[39] Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, ubi supra.—Zarate, lib. 7, cap. 3.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 21, 22.

Here the inhabitants were prepared to receive him in triumph, under arches thrown across the streets, with bands of music, and minstrelsy commemorating his successes. But Pizarro, with more discretion, declined the honors of an ovation while the country remained in the hands of his enemies. Sending forward the main body of his troops, he followed on foot, attended by a slender retinue of friends and citizens, and proceeded at once to the cathedral, where thanksgivings were offered up and *Te Deum* was chanted in honor of his victory. He then withdrew to his residence, announcing his purpose to establish his quarters, for the present, in the venerable capital of the Incas.[40]

All thoughts of a retreat into Chili were abandoned; for his recent success had kindled new hopes in his bosom and revived his ancient confidence. He trusted that it would have a similar effect on the vacillating temper of those whose fidelity had been shaken by fears for their own safety and their distrust of his ability to cope with the president. They would now see that his star was still in the ascendant. Without further apprehensions for the event, he resolved to remain in Cuzco and there quietly await the hour when a last appeal to arms should decide which of the two was to remain master of Peru.

[40] Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 27.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 7, cap. 3.—Garcilasso de la Vega, who was a boy at the time, witnessed Pizarro's entry into Cuzco. He writes, therefore, from memory; though after an interval of many years. In consequence of his father's rank, he had easy access to the palace of Pizarro; and this portion of his narrative may claim the consideration due not merely to a contemporary, but to an eye-witness.

CHAPTER III

DISMAY IN GASCA'S CAMP—HIS WINTER QUARTERS —HE RESUMES HIS MARCH—CROSSES THE APURIMAC — PIZARRO'S CONDUCT IN CUZCO — HE ENCAMPS NEAR THE CITY — ROUT OF XAQUIXAGUANA

1547–1548

WHILE the events recorded in the preceding chapter were passing, President Gasca had remained at Xauxa, awaiting further tidings from Centeno, little doubting that they would inform him of the total discomfiture of the rebels. Great was his dismay, therefore, on learning the issue of the fatal conflict at Huarina,—that the royalists had been scattered far and wide before the sword of Pizarro, while their commander had vanished like an apparition,[1] leaving the greatest uncertainty as to his fate.

The intelligence spread general consternation among the soldiers, proportioned to their former confidence, and they felt it was almost hopeless to contend with a man who seemed protected by a charm that made him invincible against the greatest odds. The president, however sore his disappointment, was careful to conceal it, while he endeavored to restore the spirits of his followers.

[1] "Y salio a la Ciudad de los Reyes, sin que Carbajal, ni alguno de los suyos supiesse por donde fue, sino que parecio encantamiento." Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 22.

"They had been too sanguine," he said, "and it was in this way that Heaven rebuked their presumption. Yet it was but in the usual course of events, that Providence, when it designed to humble the guilty, should allow him to reach as high an elevation as possible, that his fall might be the greater!"

But, while Gasca thus strove to reassure the superstitious and the timid, he bent his mind, with his usual energy, to repair the injury which the cause had sustained by the defeat at Huarina.* He sent a detachment under Alvarado to Lima, to collect such of the royalists as had fled thither from the field of battle, and to dismantle the ships of their cannon and bring them to the camp. Another body was sent to Guamanga, about sixty leagues from Cuzco, for the similar purpose of protecting the fugitives, and also of preventing the Indian caciques from forwarding supplies to the insurgent army in Cuzco. As his own forces now amounted to considerably more than any his opponent could bring against him, Gasca determined to break up his camp without further delay, and march on the Inca capital.[2]

[2] Gasca, according to Ondegardo, supported his army, during his stay at Xauxa, from the Peruvian granaries in the valley, as he found a quantity of maize still remaining in them sufficient for several years' consumption. It is passing strange that these depositories should have been so long respected by the hungry Conquerors.

* [Gasca, as appears from his letter of August 11th, to the Council of the Indies, had written to Centeno to avoid a battle, if possible, until a junction of the royal forces could be effected. He considered Pizarro's movement to the south as indicating not an intention of flight, but a purpose to encounter and beat his enemies in detail. Col. de Doc. inéd. para la Hist. de España, tom. xlix.—K.]

Quitting Xauxa, December 29th, 1547, he passed through Guamanga, and after a severe march, rendered particularly fatiguing by the inclement state of the weather and the badness of the roads, he entered the province of Andaguaylas. It was a fair and fruitful country, and, since the road beyond would take him into the depths of a gloomy sierra, scarcely passable in the winter snows, Gasca resolved to remain in his present quarters until the severity of the season was mitigated. As many of the troops had already contracted diseases from exposure to the incessant rains, he established a camp hospital; and the good president personally visited the quarters of the sick, ministering to their wants and winning their hearts by his sympathy.[3]

Meanwhile, the royal camp was strengthened by the continual arrival of reinforcements; for, notwithstanding the shock that was caused throughout the country by the first tidings of Pizarro's victory, a little reflection convinced the people that the right was the strongest and must eventually prevail. There came also with these levies several of the most distinguished captains in the country. Centeno, burning to retrieve his late disgrace, after recovering from his illness, joined the camp with his followers from Lima.

—"Cuando el Señor Presidente Gasca passó con la gente de castigo de Gonzalo Pizarro por el Valle de Jauja, estuvo alli siete semanas á lo que me acuerdo, se hallaron en deposito maiz de cuatro y de tres y de dos años mas de 15,000 hanegas junto al camino, é alli comió la gente." Ondegardo, Rel. Seg., MS.

[3] Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 7, cap. 4.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 82–85.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Cieza de Leon, cap. 90.

Benalcazar, the Conqueror of Quito, who, as the reader will remember, had shared in the defeat of Blasco Nuñez in the north, came with another detachment, and was soon after followed by Valdivia, the famous conqueror of Chili, who, having returned to Peru to gather recruits for his expedition, had learned the state of the country, and had thrown himself without hesitation into the same scale with the president, though it brought him into collision with his old friend and comrade Gonzalo Pizarro. The arrival of this last ally was greeted with general rejoicing by the camp; for Valdivia, schooled in the Italian wars, was esteemed the most accomplished soldier in Peru; and Gasca complimented him by declaring "he would rather see him than a reinforcement of eight hundred men."[4]

Besides these warlike auxiliaries, the president was attended by a train of ecclesiastics and civilians such as was rarely found in the martial fields of Peru. Among them were the Bishops of Quito, Cuzco, and Lima, the four judges of the new Audience, and a considerable number of church-

[4] At least so says Valdivia in his letter to the emperor: "I dixo publico que estimara mas mi persona que á los mejores ochocientos hombres de guerra que le pudieran venir aquella hora." Carta de Valdivia, MS.*

* [In a report dated March 7th, 1548, Gasca mentions the arrival of Valdivia, and his high reputation for courage and experience in war, adding, "E así por este conceto que dél se tiene, como porque parece á la gente que, dándole la conquista de Chile llevará allá mucha de la que aquí hay, se ha alegrado con su venida." Col. de Doc. inéd. para la Hist. de España, tom. xlix.†—K.]

† [And yet, in a report made to the emperor at the close of the war, while he praises the other high officers, he does not mention Valdivia's name.—M.]

men and monkish missionaries.[5] However little they might serve to strengthen his arm in battle, their presence gave authority and something of a sacred character to the cause, which had their effect on the minds of the soldiers.

The wintry season now began to give way before the mild influence of spring, which makes itself early felt in these tropical, but from their elevation temperate, regions; and Gasca, after nearly three months' detention in Andaquaylas, mustered his levies for the final march upon Cuzco.[6] Their whole number fell little short of two thousand,—the largest European force yet assembled in Peru. Nearly half were provided with fire-arms; and infantry was more available than horse in the mountain-countries which they were to traverse. But his cavalry was also numerous, and he carried with him a train of eleven heavy guns. The equipment and discipline of the troops were good; they were well provided with ammunition and military stores, and were led by officers whose names were associated with the most memorable achievements in the New World. All who had any real interest in the weal of the country were to be found, in short, under the presi-

[5] Zarate, MS.

[6] Cieza de Leon, Cronica, cap. 90.—The old chronicler, or rather geographer, Cieza de Leon, was present in the campaign, he tells us; so that his testimony, always good, becomes for the remaining events of more than usual value.*

* [This remark refers to the incidental allusions to the events of the campaign which occur in the First Part of Cieza de Leon's work. It would, of course, be still more applicable to the detailed narrative in the Fourth Part, if the portion of it relating to the present period should be brought to light.—K.]

dent's banner, making a striking contrast to the wild and reckless adventurers who now swelled the ranks of Pizarro.

Gasca, who did not affect a greater knowledge of military affairs than he really possessed, had given the charge of his forces to Hinojosa, naming the Marshal Alvarado as second in command. Valdivia, who came after these dispositions had been made, accepted a colonel's commission, with the understanding that he was to be consulted and employed in all matters of moment.[7] Having completed his arrangements, the president broke up his camp in March, 1548, and moved upon Cuzco.

The first obstacle to his progress was the river Abancay, the bridge over which had been broken down by the enemy. But, as there was no force to annoy them on the opposite bank, the army was not long in preparing a new bridge and throwing it across the stream, which in this place had nothing formidable in its character. The road now struck into the heart of a mountain-region, where woods, precipices, and ravines were mingled together in a sort of chaotic confusion, with here

[7] Valdivia, indeed, claims to have had the whole command intrusted to him by Gasca: "Luego me dio el autoridad toda que traia de parte de V. M. para en los casos tocantes à la guerra, i me encargó todo el exercito, i le puso baxo de mi mano rogando i pidiendo por merced do su parte á todos aquellos caballeros capitanes e gente de guerra, i de la de V. M. mandandoles me obedesciesen en todo lo que les mandase acerca de la guerra, i cumpliesen mis mandamientos como los suyos." (Carta de Valdivia, MS.) But other authorities state it, with more probability, as given in the text. Valdivia, it must be confessed, loses nothing from modesty. The whole of his letter to the emperor is written in a strain of self-glorification rarely matched even by a Castilian hidalgo.

and there a green and sheltered valley, glittering like an island of verdure amidst the wild breakers of a troubled ocean! The bold peaks of the Andes, rising far above the clouds, were enveloped in snow, which, descending far down their sides, gave a piercing coldness to the winds that swept over their surface, until men and horses were benumbed and stiffened under their influence. The roads in these regions were in some places so narrow and broken as to be nearly impracticable for cavalry. The cavaliers were compelled to dismount; and the president, with the rest, performed the journey on foot, so hazardous that even in later times it has been no uncommon thing for the sure-footed mule to be precipitated, with its cargo of silver, thousands of feet down the sheer sides of a precipice.[8]

By these impediments of the ground the march was so retarded that the troops seldom accomplished more than two leagues a day.[9] Fortunately, the distance was not great; and the president looked with more apprehension to the passage of the Apurimac, which he was now approaching. This river, one of the most formidable tributaries of the Amazon, rolls its broad waters through the gorges of the Cordilleras, that rise up like an immense rampart of rock on either side, presenting a natural barrier which it would be easy for an enemy to make good against a force much superior to his own. The bridges over this river, as Gasca learned before his departure from Anda-

[8] Cieza de Leon, Cronica, cap. 91.
[9] MS. de Caravantes.

guaylas, had been all destroyed by Pizarro. The president, accordingly, had sent to explore the banks of the stream and determine the most eligible spot for re-establishing communications with the opposite side.

The place selected was near the Indian village of Cotapampa, about nine leagues from Cuzco; for the river, though rapid and turbulent from being compressed within more narrow limits, was here less than two hundred paces in width,—a distance, however, not inconsiderable. Directions had been given to collect materials in large quantities in the neighborhood of this spot as soon as possible; and at the same time, in order to perplex the enemy and compel him to divide his forces should he be disposed to resist, materials in smaller quantities were assembled on three other points of the river. The officer stationed in the neighborhood of Cotapampa was instructed not to begin to lay the bridge till the arrival of a sufficient force should accelerate the work and insure its success.

The structure in question, it should be remembered, was one of those suspension-bridges formerly employed by the Incas, and still used in crossing the deep and turbulent rivers of South America. They are made of osier withes, twisted into enormous cables, which, when stretched across the water, are attached to heavy blocks of masonry, or, where it will serve, to the natural rock. Planks are laid transversely across these cables, and a passage is thus secured, which, notwithstanding the light and fragile appearance of the bridge as it

swings at an elevation sometimes of several hundred feet above the abyss, affords a tolerably safe means of conveyance for men, and even for such heavy burdens as artillery.[10]

Notwithstanding the peremptory commands of Gasca, the officer intrusted with collecting the materials for the bridge was so anxious to have the honor of completing the work himself that he commenced it at once. The president, greatly displeased at learning this, quickened his march, in order to cover the work with his whole force. But, while toiling through the mountain-labyrinth, tidings were brought him that a party of the enemy had demolished the small portion of the bridge already made, by cutting the cables on the opposite bank. Valdivia accordingly hastened forward at the head of two hundred arquebusiers, while the main body of the army followed with as much speed as practicable.

That officer, on reaching the spot, found that the interruption had been caused by a small party of Pizarro's followers, not exceeding twenty in number, assisted by a stronger body of Indians. He at once caused *balsas*, broad and clumsy barks, or rather rafts, of the country, to be provided, and by this means passed his men over, without opposition, to the other side of the river. The enemy, disconcerted by the arrival of such a force, retreated and made the best of their way to report the affair to their commander at Cuzco. Mean-

[10] Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 86, 87.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 7, cap. 5.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS. —MS. de Caravantes.—Carta de Valdivia, MS.—Relacion del Lic. Gasca, MS.

while, Valdivia, who saw the importance of every moment in the present crisis, pushed forward the work with the greatest vigor. Through all that night his weary troops continued the labor, which was already well advanced when the president and his battalions, emerging from the passes of the Cordilleras, presented themselves at sunrise on the opposite bank.

Little time was given for repose, as all felt assured that the success of their enterprise hung on the short respite now given them by the improvident enemy. The president, with his principal officers, took part in the labor with the common soldiers;[11] and before ten o'clock in the evening, Gasca had the satisfaction to see the bridge so well secured that the leading files of the army, unencumbered by their baggage, might venture to cross it. A short time sufficed to place several hundred men on the other bank. But here a new difficulty, not less formidable than that of the river, presented itself to the troops. The ground rose up with an abrupt, almost precipitous, swell from the river-side, till, in the highest peaks, it reached an elevation of several thousand feet. This steep ascent, though not to its full height, indeed, was now to be surmounted. The difficulties of the ground, broken up into fearful chasms and water-courses and tangled with thickets, were greatly increased by the darkness of the night;

[11] "La gente que estaua, de la vna parte y de la otra, todos tirauan y trabajauan al poner, y apretar de las Criznejas; sin que el Presidente ni Obispos, ni otra persona quisiesse tener preuilegio para dexar de trabajar." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 87.

and the soldiers, as they toiled slowly upward, were filled with apprehension, akin to fear, from the uncertainty whether each successive step might not bring them into an ambuscade, for which the ground was so favorable. More than once the Spaniards were thrown into a panic by false reports that the enemy were upon them. But Hinojosa and Valdivia were at hand to rally their men and cheer them on, until at length, before dawn broke, the bold cavaliers and their followers placed themselves on the highest point traversed by the road, where they awaited the arrival of the president. This was not long delayed; and in the course of the following morning the royalists were already in sufficient strength to bid defiance to their enemy.

The passage of the river had been effected with less loss than might have been expected, considering the darkness of the night and the numbers that crowded over the aërial causeway. Some few, indeed, fell into the water and were drowned; and more than sixty horses, in the attempt to swim them across the river, were hurried down the current and dashed against the rocks below.[12] It still required time to bring up the heavy train of ordnance and the military wagons; and the president encamped on the strong ground which he now occupied, to await their arrival and to breathe

[12] "Aquel dia pasaron mas de quatrocientos Hombres, llevando los Caballos à nado, encima de ellos atadas sus armas, i arcabuces, caso que se perdieron mas de sesenta Caballos, que con la corriente grande se desataron, i luego daban en vnas peñas, donde se hacian pedaços, sin darles lugar el impetu del rio, à que pudiesen nadar." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 7, cap. 5.—Gomara, Hist. de las Indias; cap. 184.

his troops after their extraordinary efforts. In these quarters we must leave him, to acquaint the reader with the state of things in the insurgent army, and with the cause of its strange remissness in guarding the passes of the Apurimac.[13]

From the time of Pizarro's occupation of Cuzco he had lived in careless luxury in the midst of his followers, like a soldier of fortune in the hour of prosperity; enjoying the present, with as little concern for the future as if the crown of Peru were already fixed irrevocably upon his head. It was otherwise with Carbajal. He looked on the victory at Huarina as the commencement, not the close, of the struggle for empire; and he was indefatigable in placing his troops in the best condition for maintaining their present advantage. At the first streak of dawn the veteran might be seen mounted on his mule, with the garb and air of a common soldier, riding about in the different quarters of the capital, sometimes superintending the manufacture of arms or providing military stores, and sometimes drilling his men, for he was most careful always to maintain the strictest discipline.[14] His restless spirit seemed to find no pleasure but in incessant

[13] Ibid., ubi supra.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 87.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 7, cap. 5.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—MS. de Caravantes.—Carta de Valdivia, MS.—Cieza de Leon, Cronica, cap. 91.—Relacion del Lic. Gasca, MS.

[14] "Andaua siempre en vna mula crescida de color entre pardo y bermejo, yo no le vi en otra caualgadura en todo el tiempo que estuuo en el Cozco antes de la batalla de Sacsahuano. Era tan contino y diligẽte en solicitar lo que a su exercito conuenia, que a todas horas del dia y de la noche le topauan sus soldados haziendo su oficio, y los agenos." Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 1, lib. 5, cap. 27.

action: living, as he had always done, in the turmoil of military adventure, he had no relish for any thing unconnected with war, and in the city saw only the materials for a well-organized camp.*

With these feelings, he was much dissatisfied at the course taken by his younger leader, who now professed his intention to abide where he was, and, when the enemy advanced, to give him battle. Carbajal advised a very different policy. He had not that full confidence, it would seem, in the loyalty of Pizarro's partisans,—at least, not of those who had once followed the banner of Centeno. These men, some three hundred in number, had been in a manner compelled to take service under Pizarro. They showed no heartiness in the cause, and the veteran strongly urged his commander to disband them at once, since it was far better to go to battle with a few faithful

* [In the 49th volume of the Coleccion de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España there is a very characteristic letter addressed by Carbajal to Gasca, and forwarded by the latter to the emperor with annotations from his own hand. It begins with the contemptuous form of address, "Reverendo Capellan *la* Gasca," and designates the president by the plural pronoun of the second person, used in Spanish only to an inferior. After much ridicule and boasting, it advises Gasca to do two things: first, to give up any ambition of ruling in Peru, "porque esta es hablar en las nubes;" secondly, to set about treating with the emperor for bestowing "copious rewards" on Pizarro and his followers who had rendered him such signal services. The conclusion, with its significant warning and its peculiarities of style, may be thought worth quoting: "Nuestro Señor la R^{da} persona y capellanía de V. R^{a} conserve con permiter por su santísima clemencia que vuestros pecados os traigan á mis manos, porque acabeis de hacer ya tanto mal por el mundo. Desta gran ciudad del Cuzco, hoy jueves á 29 de diciembre, fin del año de 1547. El mensajero que esta lleva os dirá lo que dél ha visto en esta ciudad. En toda su vida no hará cosa que á V. R^{a} mas convenga."—K.]

followers than with a host of the false and faint-hearted.

But Carbajal thought, also, that his leader was not sufficiently strong in numbers to encounter his opponent, supported as he was by the best captains of Peru. He advised, accordingly, that he should abandon Cuzco, carrying off all the treasure, provisions, and stores of every kind from the city which might in any way serve the necessities of the royalists. The latter, on their arrival, disappointed by the poverty of a place where they had expected to find so much booty, would become disgusted with the service. Pizarro, meanwhile, might take refuge with his men in the neighboring fastnesses, where, familiar with the ground, it would be easy to elude the enemy; and if the latter persevered in the pursuit, with numbers diminished by desertion, it would not be difficult in the mountain-passes to find an opportunity for assailing him at advantage. Such was the wary counsel of the old warrior. But it was not to the taste of his fiery commander, who preferred to risk the chances of a battle rather than turn his back on a foe.

Neither did Pizarro show more favor to a proposition, said to have been made by the Licentiate Cepeda, that he should avail himself of his late success to enter into negotiations with Gasca. Such advice, from the man who had so recently resisted all overtures of the president, could only have proceeded from a conviction that the late victory placed Pizarro on a vantage-ground for demanding terms far better than would have been

before conceded to him. It may be that subsequent experience had also led him to distrust the fidelity of Gonzalo's followers, or, possibly, the capacity of their chief to conduct them through the present crisis. Whatever may have been the motives of the slippery counsellor, Pizarro gave little heed to the suggestion, and even showed some resentment as the matter was pressed on him. In every contest, with Indian or European, whatever had been the odds, he had come off victorious. He was not now for the first time to despond; and he resolved to remain in Cuzco and hazard all on the chances of a battle. There was something in the hazard itself captivating to his bold and chivalrous temper. In this, too, he was confirmed by some of the cavaliers who had followed him through all his fortunes, reckless young adventurers, who, like himself, would rather risk all on a single throw of the dice than adopt the cautious and, as it seemed to them, timid policy of graver counsellors. It was by such advisers, then, that Pizarro's future course was to be shaped.[15]

[15] Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 27.—Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. 182.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 88.—"Finalmente, Gonçalo Pizarro dixo que queria prouar su ventura: pues siempre auia sido vencedor, y jamas vencido." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, ubi supra.*

* [Gasca himself wrote several letters to Pizarro during the year 1547, urging him to return to the path of duty, and holding out hopes of grace if he should do so. In the last, without date, but written apparently in December, he combats the pretensions of Gonzalo founded on his brother's exploits, and advises him to have recourse to the mercy of the emperor, who had raised his family from so low to so high an estate. In a letter to the Council of the Indies, dated December 27th, he mentions these efforts as made for

Such was the state of affairs in Cuzco, when Pizarro's soldiers returned with the tidings that a detachment of the enemy had crossed the Apurimac and were busy in re-establishing the bridge. Carbajal saw at once the absolute necessity of maintaining this pass. "It is my affair," he said; "I claim to be employed on this service. Give me but a hundred picked men, and I will engage to defend the pass against an army, and bring back the *chaplain*"—the name by which the president was known in the rebel camp—"a prisoner to Cuzco."[16] "I cannot spare you, father," said Gonzalo, addressing him by this affectionate epithet, which he usually applied to his aged follower,[17]—"I cannot spare you so far from my own person;" and he gave the commission to Juan de Acosta, a young cavalier warmly attached to his commander, and who had given undoubted evidence of his valor on more than one occasion,

[16] "Paresceme vuestra Señoria se vaya á la vuelta del Collao y me deje cien hombres, los que yo escojiere, que yo me iré á vista deste capellan, que ansi llamaba él al presidente." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

[17] Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 31.

two reasons; one, to show Pizarro that his pretences of loyalty were of no avail; the other, to see if any hope he might derive from them of being treated with mercy and benignity would contribute to settle the affair. (Col. de Doc. inéd. para la Hist. de España, tom. xlix.) But no explicit offer of pardon, much less of reward, was made to Pizarro; and it is evident that any negotiation on his part at this late period would only have amounted to the abandonment of his last chance, that of securing himself by a victory. The story told by some writers of an offer of complete pardon to Pizarro and all his followers, made by Gasca on the eve of the final encounter, is highly improbable in itself, and inconsistent with the tenor of the correspondence. Sir Arthur Helps repeats it without demur; but the slightness of the evidence on which it rests is noticed by Prescott, *infra*, p. 393.—K.]

but who, as the event proved, was signally deficient in the qualities demanded for so critical an undertaking as the present. Acosta, accordingly, was placed at the head of two hundred mounted musketeers, and, after much wholesome counsel from Carbajal, set out on his expedition.

But he soon forgot the veteran's advice, and moved at so dull a pace over the difficult roads that, although the distance was not more than nine leagues, he found, on his arrival, the bridge completed, and so large a body of the enemy already across that he was in no strength to attack them. Acosta did indeed meditate an ambuscade by night; but the design was betrayed by a deserter, and he contented himself with retreating to a safe distance and sending for a further reinforcement from Cuzco. Three hundred men were promptly detached to his support; but when they arrived the enemy was already planted in full force on the crest of the eminence. The golden opportunity was irrecoverably lost; and the disconsolate cavalier rode back in all haste to report the failure of his enterprise to his commander in Cuzco.[18]

[18] Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 88.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 7, cap. 5.—Carta de Valdivia, MS.—Valdivia's letter to the emperor, dated at Concepcion, was written about two years after the events above recorded. It is chiefly taken up with his Chilian conquests, to which his campaign under Gasca, on his visit to Peru, forms a kind of brilliant episode. This letter, the original of which is preserved in Simancas, covers about seventy folio pages in the copy beloging to me. It is one of that class of historical documents, consisting of the despatches and correspondence of the colonial governors, which, from the minuteness of the details and the means of information possessed by the writers, are of the highest worth. The despatches addressed to the court, particularly, may compare with the celebrated *Relazioni* of the Venetian ambassadors

The only question now to be decided was as to the spot where Gonzalo Pizarro should give battle to his enemies. He determined at once to abandon the capital and wait for his opponents in the neighboring valley of Xaquixaguana. It was about five leagues distant, and the reader may remember it as the place where Francisco Pizarro burned the Peruvian general Challcuchima on his first occupation of Cuzco. The valley, fenced round by the lofty rampart of the Andes, was for the most part green and luxuriant, affording many picturesque points of view, and, from the genial temperature of the climate, had been a favorite summer residence of the Indian nobles, many of whose pleasure-houses still dotted the sides of the mountains. A river, or rather stream, of no great volume, flowed through one end of this enclosure, and the neighboring soil was so wet and miry as to have the character of a morass.

Here the rebel commander arrived, after a tedious march over roads not easily traversed by his train of heavy wagons and artillery. His forces amounted in all to about nine hundred men, with some half-dozen pieces of ordnance. It was a well-appointed body, and under excellent discipline, for it had been schooled by the strictest martinet in the Peruvian service. But it was the misfortune of Pizarro that his army was composed, in part at least, of men on whose attachment to his cause he could not confidently rely. This was a deficiency which no courage or skill in the leader could supply.

On entering the valley, Pizarro selected the eastern quarter of it, towards Cuzco, as the most favorable spot for his encampment. It was crossed by the stream above mentioned, and he stationed his army in such a manner that, while one extremity of the camp rested on a natural barrier formed by the mountain-cliffs that here rose up almost perpendicularly, the other was protected by the river. While it was scarcely possible, therefore, to assail his flanks, the approaches in front were so extremely narrowed by these obstacles that it would not be easy to overpower him by numbers in that direction. In the rear, his communications remained open with Cuzco, furnishing a ready means for obtaining supplies. Having secured this strong position, he resolved patiently to await the assault of the enemy.[19]

Meanwhile the royal army had been toiling up the steep sides of the Cordilleras, until at the close of the third day the president had the satisfaction to find himself surrounded by his whole force, with their guns and military stores. Having now sufficiently refreshed his men, he resumed his march, and all went forward with the buoyant confidence of bringing their quarrel with the *tyrant,** as Pizarro was called, to a speedy issue.

[19] Carta de Valdivia, MS.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 33, 34.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. 185.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 88.

* [The word was used with its original meaning. A "tyrant" was a ruler who owed his office to insurrection or usurpation.

"The tyrant of the Chersonese
Was Freedom's best and bravest friend."—M.]

Their advance was slow, as in the previous part of the march, for the ground was equally embarrassing. It was not long, however, before the president learned that his antagonist had pitched his camp in the neighboring valley of Xaquixaguana. Soon afterwards, two friars, sent by Gonzalo himself, appeared in the army, for the ostensible purpose of demanding a sight of the powers with which Gasca was intrusted. But, as their conduct gave reason to suspect they were spies, the president caused the holy men to be seized, and refused to allow them to return to Pizarro. By an emissary of his own, whom he despatched to the rebel chief, he renewed the assurance of pardon already given him, in case he would lay down his arms and submit. Such an act of generosity, at this late hour, must be allowed to be highly creditable to Gasca, believing, as he probably did, that the game was in his own hands. It is a pity that the anecdote does not rest on the best authority.[20]

After a march of a couple of days, the advanced guard of the royalists came suddenly on the outposts of the insurgents, from whom they had been concealed by a thick mist, and a slight skirmish took place between them. At length, on the morning of the eighth of April, the royal army, turning the crest of the lofty range that belts round

[20] The fact is not mentioned by any of the parties present at these transactions. It is to be found, with some little discrepancy of circumstances, in Gomara (Hist. de las Indias, cap. 185) and Zarate (Conq. del Peru, lib. 7, cap. 6); and their positive testimony may be thought by most readers to outweigh the negative afforded by the silence of other contemporaries.

the lovely valley of Xaquixaguana, beheld far below on the opposite side the glittering lines of the enemy, with their white pavilions, looking like clusters of wild fowl nestling among the cliffs of the mountains. And still farther off might be descried a host of Indian warriors, showing gaudily in their variegated costumes; for the natives in this part of the country, with little perception of their true interests, manifested great zeal in the cause of Pizarro.

Quickening their step, the royal army now hastily descended the steep sides of the sierra; and, notwithstanding every effort of their officers, they moved in so little order, each man picking his way as he could, that the straggling column presented many a vulnerable point to the enemy; and the descent would not have been accomplished without considerable loss, had Pizarro's cannon been planted on any of the favorable positions which the ground afforded. But that commander, far from attempting to check the president's approach, remained doggedly in the strong position he had occupied, with the full confidence that his adversaries would not hesitate to assail it, strong as it was, in the same manner as they had done at Huarina.[21]

Yet he did not omit to detach a corps of arque-

[21] "Salió á Xaquixaguana con toda su gente y allí nos aguardó en un llano junto á un cerro alto por donde bajábamos; y cierto nuestro Señor le cegó el entendimiento, porque si nos aguardaran al pie de la bajada, hicieran mucho daño á nosotros. Retiráronse á un llano junto á una ciénaga, creyendo que nuestro campo allí les acometiera y con la ventaja que nos tenian del puesto nos vencieran." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Carta de Valdivia, MS.—Relacion del Lic. Gasca, MS.

busiers to secure a neighboring eminence or spur of the Cordilleras, which in the hands of the enemy might cause some annoyance to his own camp, while it commanded still more effectually the ground soon to be occupied by the assailants. But his manœuvre was noticed by Hinojosa; and he defeated it by sending a stronger detachment of the royal musketeers, who repulsed the rebels, and, after a short skirmish, got possession of the heights. Gasca's general profited by this success to plant a small battery of cannon on the eminence, from which, although the distance was too great for him to do much execution, he threw some shot into the hostile camp. One ball, indeed, struck down two men, one of them Pizarro's page, killing a horse, at the same time, which he held by the bridle; and the chief instantly ordered the tents to be struck, considering that they afforded too obvious a mark for the artillery.[22]

Meanwhile the president's forces had descended into the valley, and as they came on the plain were formed into line by their officers. The ground occupied by the army was somewhat lower than that of their enemy, whose shot, as discharged from time to time from his batteries, passed over their heads. Information was now brought by a deserter, one of Centeno's old followers, that Pizarro was getting ready for a night-attack. The

[22] "Porq̃. muchas pelotas dieron en medio de la gente, y una dellas matò jũto à Gonçalo Pizarro vn criado suyo que se estaua armando: y matò otro hombre y vn cauallo: que puso grande alteracion en el campo, y abatieron todas las tiẽdas y toldos." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 89.—Carta de Valdivia, MS.—Relacion del Lic. Gasca, MS.

president, in consequence, commanded his whole force to be drawn up in battle-array, prepared at any instant to repulse the assault. But, if such were meditated by the insurgent chief, he abandoned it,—and, as it is said, from a distrust of the fidelity of some of the troops, who under cover of the darkness, he feared, would go over to the opposite side. If this be true, he must have felt the full force of Carbajal's admonition when too late to profit by it. The unfortunate commander was in the situation of some bold, high-mettled cavalier, rushing to battle on a war-horse whose tottering joints threaten to give way under him at every step and leave his rider to the mercy of his enemies!

The president's troops stood to their arms the greater part of the night, although the air from the mountains was so keen that it was with difficulty they could hold their lances in their hands.[23] But before the rising sun had kindled into a glow the highest peaks of the sierra, both camps were in motion and busily engaged in preparations for the combat. The royal army was formed into two battalions of infantry, one to attack the enemy in front, and the other, if possible, to operate on his flank. These battalions were protected by squadrons of horse on the wings and in the rear, while reserves both of horse and arquebusiers were stationed to act as occasion might require. The dispositions were made in so masterly a manner as to

[23] "I asi estuvo el Campo toda la Noche en Arma, desarmadas las Tiendas, padesciendo mui gran frio que no podian tener las Lanças en las manos." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 7, cap. 6.

draw forth a hearty eulogium from old Carbajal, who exclaimed, " Surely the Devil or Valdiva must be among them! " an undeniable compliment to the latter, since the speaker was ignorant of that commander's presence in the camp.[24]

Gasca, leaving the conduct of the battle to his officers, withdrew to the rear with his train of clergy and licentiates, the last of whom did not share in the ambition of their rebel brother, Cepeda, to break a lance in the field.

Gonzalo Pizarro formed his squadron in the same manner as he had done on the plains of Huarina, except that the increased number of his horse now enabled him to cover both flanks of his infantry. It was still on his fire-arms, however, that he chiefly relied. As the ranks were formed, he rode among them encouraging his men to do their duty like brave cavaliers and true soldiers of the Conquest. Pizarro was superbly armed, as usual, and wore a complete suit of mail, of the finest manufacture, which, as well as his helmet, was richly inlaid with gold.[25] He rode a chestnut horse of great strength and spirit, and as he galloped along the line, brandishing his lance and displaying his easy horsemanship, he

[24] " Y assi quando vio Francisco de Caruajal el campo Real; pareciendole que los esquadrones venian biẽ ordenados dixo, Valdiuia està en la tierra, y rige el campo, ò el diablo." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 89.—Relacion del Lic. Gasca, MS.—Carta de Valdivia, MS.—Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. 185.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 7, cap. 6.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 34.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

[25] " Iba mui galàn, i gentil hombre sobre vn poderoso caballo castaño, armado de Cota, i Coracinas ricas, con vna sobre ropa de Raso bien golpeada, i vn Capacete de Oro en la cabeça, con su barbote de lo mismo." Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. 185.

might be thought to form no bad personification of the Genius of Chivalry.* To complete his dispositions, he ordered Cepeda to lead up the infantry; for the licentiate seems to have had a larger share in the conduct of his affairs of late, or at least in the present military arrangements, than Carbajal. The latter, indeed, whether from disgust at the course taken by his leader, or from a distrust, which it is said he did not affect to conceal, of the success of the present operations, disclaimed all responsibility for them, and chose to serve rather as a private cavalier than as a commander.[26] Yet Cepeda, as the event showed, was no less shrewd in detecting the coming ruin.

When he had received his orders from Pizarro, he rode forward as if to select the ground for his troops to occupy, and in doing so disappeared for a few moments behind a projecting cliff. He soon reappeared, however, and was seen galloping at full speed across the plain. His men looked with astonishment, yet not distrusting his motives, till, as he continued his course direct towards the enemy's lines, his treachery became apparent. Several pushed forward to overtake him, and among them a cavalier better mounted than Cepeda. The latter rode a horse of no great

[26] "Porque el Maesse de campo Francisco de Caruajal, como hombre desdeñado de que Gonçalo Piçarro no huuiesse querido seguir su parecer y consejo (dandose ya por vencido), no quiso hazer oficio de Maesse de campo, como solia, y assi fue a ponerse en el esquadron con su compañia, como vno de los capitanes de ynfanteria." Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 35.

* [So Totila, last of the Ostrogothic kings, rode before his line of battle on the day he went to his death a thousand years before.—M.]

strength or speed, quite unfit for this critical manœuvre of his master. The animal was, moreover, encumbered by the weight of the caparisons with which his ambitious rider had loaded him, so that on reaching a piece of miry ground that lay between the armies his pace was greatly retarded.[27] Cepeda's pursuers rapidly gained on him, and the cavalier above noticed came at length so near as to throw a lance at the fugitive, which, wounding him in the thigh, pierced his horse's flank, and they both came headlong to the ground. It would have fared ill with the licentiate in this emergency, but fortunately a small party of troopers on the other side, who had watched the chase, now galloped briskly forward to the rescue, and, beating off his pursuers, they recovered Cepeda from the mire and bore him to the president's quarters.

He was received by Gasca with the greatest satisfaction,—so great that, according to one chronicler, he did not disdain to show it by saluting the licentiate on the cheek.[28] The anecdote is scarcely reconcilable with the characters and relations of the parties, or with the president's subsequent conduct. Gasca, however, recognized the full value of his prize and the effect which his desertion at such a time must have on the spirits of the rebels. Cepeda's movement, so unexpected by his own party, was the result of previous deliberation, as he had secretly given

[27] Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 35.

[28] "Gasca abraçò, i besò en el carrillo à Cepeda, aunque lo llevaba encenagado, teniendo por vencido à Piçarro, con su falta." Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. 185.

assurance, it is said, to the prior of Arequipa, then in the royal camp, that, if Gonzalo Pizarro could not be induced to accept the pardon offered him, he would renounce his cause.[29] The time selected by the crafty counsellor for doing so was that most fatal to the interests of his commander.

The example of Cepeda was contagious. Garcilasso de la Vega, father of the historian, a cavalier of old family, and probably of higher consideration than any other in Pizarro's party, put spurs to his horse at the same time with the licentiate, and rode over to the enemy. Ten or a dozen of the arquebusiers followed in the same direction, and succeeded in placing themselves under the protection of the advanced guard of the royalists.

Pizarro stood aghast at this desertion, in so critical a juncture, of those in whom he had most trusted. He was, for a moment, bewildered. The very ground on which he stood seemed to be crumbling beneath him. With this state of feeling among his soldiers, he saw that every minute of delay was fatal. He dared not wait for the assault, as he had intended, in his strong position, but instantly gave the word to advance. Gasca's general, Hinojosa, seeing the enemy in motion, gave similar orders to his own troops. Instantly the skirmishers and arquebusiers on the flanks moved rapidly forward, the artillery prepared to open their fire, and "the whole army," says the president in his own account of the affair,

[29] "Ça, segun pareciò, Cepeda le huvo avisado con Fr. Antonio de Castro, Prior de Santo Domingo en Arequipa, que si Piçarro no quisiesse concierto ninguno, èl se pasaria al servicio del Emperador à tiempo que le deshiciese." Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. 185.

" advanced with steady step and perfect determination." [30]

But, before a shot was fired, a column of arquebusiers, composed chiefly of Centeno's former followers, abandoned their post and marched directly over to the enemy. A squadron of horse sent in pursuit of them followed their example. The president instantly commanded his men to halt, unwilling to spill blood unnecessarily, as the rebel host was likely to fall to pieces of itself.

Pizarro's faithful adherents were seized with a panic as they saw themselves and their leader thus betrayed into the enemy's hands. Further resistance was useless. Some threw down their arms, and fled in the direction of Cuzco; others sought to escape to the mountains; and some crossed to the opposite side and surrendered themselves prisoners, hoping it was not too late to profit by the promises of grace. The Indian allies, on seeing the Spaniards falter, had been the first to go off the ground.[31]

Pizarro, amidst the general wreck, found him-

[30] " Visto por Gonzalo Pizarro i Caravajal su Maestre de Campo que se les iva gente procuraron de caminar en su orden hacia el campo de S. M. i que viendo esto los lados i sobre salientes del exercito real se empezaron á llegar á ellos i á disparar en ellos i que lo mesmo hizo la artilleria, i todo el campo con paso bien concertado i entera determinacion se llegó á ellos." Relacion del Lic. Gasca, MS.

[31] " Los Indios que tenian los enemigos que diz eran mucha cantidad huyeron mui á furia." (Relacion del Lic. Gasca, MS.) For the particulars of the battle, more or less minute, see Carta de Valdivia, MS.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 35.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. 185.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 90.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 7, cap. 7.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 8, lib. 4, cap. 16.

self left with only a few cavaliers who disdained to fly. Stunned by the unexpected reverse of fortune, the unhappy chief could hardly comprehend his situation. "What remains for us?" said he to Acosta, one of those who still adhered to him. "Fall on the enemy, since nothing else is left," answered the lion-hearted soldier, "and die like Romans!" "Better to die like Christians," replied his commander; and, slowly turning his horse, he rode off in the direction of the royal army.[32]

He had not proceeded far when he was met by an officer, to whom, after ascertaining his name and rank, Pizarro delivered up his sword and yielded himself prisoner. The officer, overjoyed at his prize, conducted him at once to the president's quarters. Gasca was on horseback, surrounded by his captains, some of whom, when they recognized the person of the captive, had the grace to withdraw, that they might not witness his humiliation.[33] Even the best of them, with a sense of right on their side, may have felt some touch of compunction at the thought that their desertion had brought their benefactor to this condition.

Pizarro kept his seat in his saddle, but, as he approached, made a respectful obeisance to the president, which the latter acknowledged by a cold

[32] "Gonçalo Piçarro boluiendo el rostro a Juan de Acosta, que estaua cerca del, le dixo, que haremos hermano Juan? Acosta presumiendo mas de valiente que de discreto respondiò, Señor arremetamos, y muramos como los antiguos Romanos. Gonçalo Piçarro dixo mejor es morir como Cristianos." Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 36.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 7, cap. 7.

[33] Garcilasso, Com. Real., ubi supra.

salute. Then, addressing his prisoner in a tone of severity, Gasca abruptly inquired, "Why he had thrown the country into such confusion,—raising the banner of revolt, killing the viceroy, usurping the government, and obstinately refusing the offers of grace that had been repeatedly made him?"

Gonzalo attempted to justify himself by referring the fate of the viceroy to his misconduct, and his own usurpation, as it was styled, to the free election of the people, as well as that of the Royal Audience. "It was my family," he said, "who conquered the country; and, as their representative here, I felt I had a right to the government." To this Gasca replied, in a still severer tone, "Your brother did, indeed, conquer the land; and for this the emperor was pleased to raise both him and you from the dust. He lived and died a true and loyal subject; and it only makes your ingratitude to your sovereign the more heinous." Then, seeing his prisoner about to reply, the president cut short the conference, ordering him into close confinement. He was committed to the charge of Centeno, who had sought the office, not from any unworthy desire to gratify his revenge,—for he seems to have had a generous nature,—but for the honorable purpose of ministering to the comfort of the captive. Though held in strict custody by this officer, therefore, Pizarro was treated with the deference due to his rank, and allowed every indulgence by his keeper, except his freedom.[34]

[34] Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 90.—Historians, of course, report the dialogue between Gasca and his prisoner with

In this general wreck of their fortunes, Francisco de Carbajal fared no better than his chief. As he saw the soldiers deserting their posts and going over to the enemy, one after another, he coolly hummed the words of his favorite old ballad,—

"The wind blows the hairs off my head, mother!"

But when he found the field nearly empty, and his stout-hearted followers vanished like a wreath of smoke, he felt it was time to provide for his own safety. He knew there could be no favor for him; and, putting spurs to his horse, he betook himself to flight with all the speed he could make. He crossed the stream that flowed, as already mentioned, by the camp, but in scaling the opposite bank, which was steep and stony, his horse, somewhat old, and oppressed by the weight of his rider, who was large and corpulent, lost his footing and fell with him into the water. Before

some variety. See Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. 185.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 36.—Relacion del Lic. Gasca, MS.*

* [A letter from Gasca to the Council of the Indies, dated Cuzco, May 7th, gives an account of the interview. After saying that he delayed the reception in order to let Pizarro know that he was not of so much importance as he had believed himself, he goes on: "When I was awaiting his approach, he asked the marshal, in a low voice, if he should dismount, who told him yes, giving him to understand that he ought to have done so without asking; and he then dismounted and made his obeisance. I wished to console him while representing to him his error; but he showed himself so stubborn, saying 'it was he who had conquered this land,' that he forced me to answer him sharply, as I deemed it proper to satisfy so many who were listening to us." He then adds his reply cutting short the conversation, as given in the text. Col. de Doc. inéd. para la Hist. de España, tom. xlix.—K.]

he could extricate himself, Carbajal was seized by some of his own followers, who hoped by such a prize to make their peace with the victor, and hurried off towards the president's quarters.

The convoy was soon swelled by a number of the common file from the royal army, some of whom had long arrears to settle with the prisoner; and, not content with heaping reproaches and imprecations on his head, they now threatened to proceed to acts of personal violence, which Carbajal, far from deprecating, seemed rather to court, as the speediest way of ridding himself of life.[35] When he approached the president's quarters, Centeno, who was near, rebuked the disorderly rabble and compelled them to give way. Carbajal, on seeing this, with a respectful air demanded to whom he was indebted for this courteous protection. To which his ancient comrade replied, "Do you not know me?—Diego Centeno!" "I crave your pardon," said the veteran, sarcastically alluding to his long flight in the Charcas and his recent defeat at Huarina: "it is so long since I have seen any thing but your back that I had forgotten your face!"[36]

Among the president's suite was the martial

[35] "Luego llevaron antel dicho Licenciado Caravajal Maestre de campo del dicho Pizarro i tan cercado de gentes que del havian sido ofendidas que le querian matar, el qual diz que mostrava que olgara que le matáran alli." Relacion del Lic. Gasca, MS.

[36] "Diego Centeno reprehendia mucho à los que le offendian. Por lo qual Caruajal le mirò, y le dixo, Señor quien es vuestra merced que tanta merced me haze? à lo qual Centeno respondio, Que no conoce vuestra merced à Diego Centeno? Dixo entonces Caruajal, Por Dios señor que como siempre vi à vuestra merced de espaldas, que agora teniendo le de cara, no le conocia." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 90.

bishop of Cuzco, who, it will be remembered, had shared with Centeno in the disgrace of his defeat. His brother had been taken by Carbajal, in his flight from the field, and instantly hung up by that fierce chief, who, as we have had more than one occasion to see, was no respecter of persons. The bishop now reproached him with his brother's murder, and, incensed by his cool replies, was ungenerous enough to strike the prisoner on the face. Carbajal made no attempt at resistance. Nor would he return a word to the queries put to him by Gasca, but, looking haughtily round on the circle, maintained a contemptuous silence. The president, seeing that nothing further was to be gained from his captive, ordered him, together with Acosta and the other cavaliers who had surrendered, into strict custody, until their fate should be decided.[37]

Gasca's next concern was to send an officer to Cuzco, to restrain his partisans from committing excesses in consequence of the late victory,—if victory that could be called where not a blow had been struck. Every thing belonging to the vanquished, their tents, arms, ammunition, and military stores, became the property of the victors. Their camp was well victualled, furnishing a seasonable supply to the royalists, who had nearly expended their own stock of provisions. There was, moreover, considerable booty in the way of

[37] Ibid., ubi supra.—It is but fair to state that Garcilasso, who was personally acquainted with the Bishop of Cuzco, doubts the fact of the indecorous conduct imputed to him by Fernandez, as inconsistent with the prelate's character. Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 39.

plate and money; for Pizarro's men, as was not uncommon in those turbulent times, went, many of them, to the war with the whole of their worldly wealth, not knowing of any safe place in which to bestow it. An anecdote is told of one of Gasca's soldiers, who, seeing a mule running over the field with a large pack on his back, seized the animal and mounted him, having first thrown away the burden, supposing it to contain armor or something of little worth. Another soldier, more shrewd, picked up the parcel as his share of the spoil, and found it contained several thousand gold ducats! It was the fortune of war.[38]

Thus terminated the battle, or rather rout, of Xaquixaguana. The number killed and wounded —for some few perished in the pursuit—was not great; according to most accounts, not exceeding fifteen killed on the rebel side, and one only on that of the royalists, and that one by the carelessness of a comrade.[39] Never was there a cheaper

[38] Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 7, cap. 8.

[39] "Temióse que en esta batalla muriria mucha gente de ambas partes por haver en ellas mill i quatrocientos arcabuceros i seiscientos de caballo i mucho numero de piqueros i diez i ocho piezas de artilleria, pero plugo á Dios que solo murió un hombre del campo de S. M. i quince de los contrarios como está dicho." Relacion del Lic. Gasca, MS.—The MS. above referred to is supposed by Muñoz to have been written by Gasca, or rather dictated by him to his secretary. The original is preserved at Simancas, without date, and in the character of the sixteenth century. It is principally taken up with the battle and the events immediately connected with it; and, although very brief, every sentence is of value as coming from so high a source. Alcedo, in his *Biblioteca Americana, MS.*, gives the title of a work from Gasca's pen, which would seem to be an account of his own administration, *Historia del Peru, y de su Pacificacion*, 1576, fol. I have never met with the work, or with any other allusion to it.

victory, so bloodless a termination of a fierce and bloody rebellion! It was gained not so much by the strength of the victors as by the weakness of the vanquished. They fell to pieces of their own accord, because they had no sure ground to stand on. The arm not nerved by the sense of right became powerless in the hour of battle. It was better that they should thus be overcome by moral force than by a brutal appeal to arms. Such a victory was more in harmony with the beneficent character of the conqueror and of his cause. It was the triumph of order; the best homage to law and justice.

CHAPTER IV

EXECUTION OF CARBAJAL—GONZALO PIZARRO BEHEADED — SPOILS OF VICTORY — WISE REFORMS BY GASCA—HE RETURNS TO SPAIN—HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER

1548–1550

IT was now necessary to decide on the fate of the prisoners; and Alonso de Alvarado, with the Licentiate Cianca, one of the new Royal Audience, was instructed to prepare the process. It did not require a long time. The guilt of the prisoners was too manifest, taken, as they had been, with arms in their hands. They were all sentenced to be executed, and their estates were confiscated to the use of the crown. Gonzalo Pizarro was to be beheaded, and Carbajal to be drawn and quartered. No mercy was shown to him who had shown none to others. There was some talk of deferring the execution till the arrival of the troops in Cuzco; but the fear of disturbances from those friendly to Pizarro determined the president to carry the sentence into effect the following day, on the field of battle.[1]

When his doom was communicated to Carbajal,

[1] The sentence passed upon Pizarro is given at length in the *manuscript* copy of Zarate's History, to which I have had occasion more than once to refer. The historian omitted it in his printed work; but the curious reader may find it entire, cited in the original, in Appendix No. 14.

he heard it with his usual indifference. "They can but kill me," he said, as if he had already settled the matter in his own mind.[2] During the day, many came to see him in his confinement; some to upbraid him with his cruelties, but most from curiosity to see the fierce warrior who had made his name so terrible through the land. He showed no unwillingness to talk with them, though it was in those sallies of caustic humor in which he usually indulged at the expense of his hearer. Among these visitors was a cavalier of no note, whose life, it appears, Carbajal had formerly spared when in his power. This person expressed to the prisoner his strong desire to serve him; and, as he reiterated his professions, Carbajal cut them short by exclaiming, "And what service can you do me? Can you set me free? If you cannot do that, you can do nothing. If I spared your life, as you say, it was probably because I did not think it worth while to take it."

Some piously-disposed persons urged him to see a priest, if it were only to unburden his conscience before leaving the world. "But of what use would that be?" asked Carbajal. "I have nothing that lies heavy on my conscience, unless it be, indeed, the debt of half a real to a shopkeeper in Seville, which I forgot to pay before leaving the country!"[3]

[2] "Basta matar." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 3, cap. 91.

[3] "En esso no tengo que confessar; porque juro à tal, que no tengo, otro cargo, si no medio real que deuo en Seuilla à vna bodegonera de la puerta del Arenal, del tiempo que passè a Indias." Ibid., ubi supra.

He was carried to execution on a hurdle, or rather in a basket, drawn by two mules. His arms were pinioned, and, as they forced his bulky body into this miserable conveyance, he exclaimed, "Cradles for infants, and a cradle for the old man too, it seems!"[4] Notwithstanding the disinclination he had manifested to a confessor, he was attended by several ecclesiastics on his way to the gallows; and one of them repeatedly urged him to give some token of penitence at this solemn hour, if it were only by repeating the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria.* Carbajal, to rid himself of the ghostly father's importunity, replied by coolly repeating the words "*Pater Noster,*" "*Ave Maria.*" He then remained obstinately silent. He died, as he had lived, with a jest, or rather a scoff, upon his lips.[5]

Francisco de Carbajal was one of the most extraordinary characters of these dark and turbulent times; the more extraordinary from his great age; for at the period of his death he was in his eighty-fourth year,—an age when the bodily powers, and, fortunately, the passions, are usually blunted; when, in the witty words of the French moralist, "We flatter ourselves we are leaving our vices, whereas it is our vices that are

[4] "Niño en cuna, y viejo en cuna." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 91.

[5] "Murió como gentil, porque dicen, que yo no le quise ver, que ansí le dí la palabra de no velle; mas á la postrer vez que me habló llevandole á matar le decia el sacerdote que con él iba, que se encomendase á Dios y dijese el Pater Noster y el Ave María, y dicen que dijo Pater Noster, Ave María, y que no dijo otra palabra." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

leaving us."[6] But the fires of youth glowed fierce and unquenchable in the bosom of Carbajal.

The date of his birth carries us back towards the middle of the fifteenth century, before the times of Ferdinand and Isabella. He was of obscure parentage, and born, as it is said, at Arevalo. For forty years he served in the Italian wars, under the most illustrious captains of the day, Gonsalvo de Cordova, Navarro, and the Colonnas. He was an ensign at the battle of Ravenna, witnessed the capture of Francis the First at Pavia, and followed the banner of the ill-starred Bourbon at the sack of Rome. He got no gold for his share of the booty on this occasion, but simply the papers of a notary's office, which, Carbajal shrewdly thought, would be worth gold to him. And so it proved; for the notary was fain to redeem them at a price which enabled the adventurer to cross the seas to Mexico and seek his fortune in the New World. On the insurrection of the Peruvians he was sent to the support of Francisco Pizarro, and was rewarded by that chief with a grant of land in Cuzco. Here he remained for several years, busily employed in increasing his substance; for the love of lucre was a ruling passion in his bosom. On the arrival of Vaca de Castro we find him doing good ser-

[6] I quote from memory, but believe the reflection may be found in that admirable digest of worldly wisdom, The Characters of La Bruyère.*

* [The reader who fails to find it in La Bruyère will be more successful if he looks for it in La Rochefoucauld: "Quand les vices nous quittent, nous nous flattons de la créance que c'est nous qui les quittons." Réflexions, No. 192.—K.]

vice under the royal banner; and at the breaking out of the great rebellion under Gonzalo Pizarro he converted his property into gold and prepared to return to Castile. He seemed to have a presentiment that to remain where he was would be fatal. But, although he made every effort to leave Peru, he was unsuccessful, for the viceroy had laid an embargo on the shipping.[7] He remained in the country, therefore, and took service, as we have seen, though reluctantly, under Pizarro. It was his destiny.

The tumultuous life on which he now entered roused all the slumbering passions of his soul, which lay there perhaps unconsciously to himself, —cruelty, avarice, revenge. He found ample exercise for them in the war with his countrymen; for civil war is proverbially the most sanguinary and ferocious of all. The atrocities recorded of Carbajal in his new career, and the number of his victims, are scarcely credible. For the honor of humanity, we may trust the accounts are greatly exaggerated; but that he should have given rise to them at all is sufficient to consign his name to infamy.[8]

[7] Pedro Pizarro bears testimony to Carbajal's endeavors to leave the country, in which he was aided, though ineffectually, by the chronicler, who was at that time in the most friendly relations with him. Civil war parted these ancient comrades; but Carbajal did not forget his obligations to Pedro Pizarro, which he afterwards repaid by exempting him on two different occasions from the general doom of the prisoners who fell into his hands.

[8] Out of three hundred and forty executions, according to Fernandez, three hundred were by Carbajal. (Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 91.) Zarate swells the number of these executions to five hundred. (Conq. del Peru, lib. 7, cap. 1.) The discrepancy shows how little we can confide in the accuracy of such estimates.

He even took a diabolical pleasure, it is said, in amusing himself with the sufferings of his victims, and in the hour of execution would give utterance to frightful jests, that made them taste more keenly the bitterness of death! He had a sportive vein, if such it could be called, which he freely indulged on every occasion. Many of his sallies were preserved by the soldiery; but they are for the most part of a coarse, repulsive character, flowing from a mind familiar with the weak and wicked side of humanity and distrusting every other. He had his jest for every thing,—for the misfortunes of others, and for his own. He looked on life as a farce,—though he too often made it a tragedy.

Carbajal must be allowed one virtue; that of fidelity to his party. This made him less tolerant of perfidy in others. He was never known to show mercy to a renegade. This undeviating fidelity, though to a bad cause, may challenge something like a feeling of respect, where fidelity was so rare.[9]

As a military man, Carbajal takes a high rank

[9] Fidelity, indeed, is but one of many virtues claimed for Carbajal by Garcilasso, who considers most of the tales of cruelty and avarice circulated of the veteran, as well as the hardened levity imputed to him in his latter moments, as inventions of his enemies. The Inca chronicler was a boy when Gonzalo and his chivalry occupied Cuzco; and the kind treatment he experienced from them, owing, doubtless, to his father's position in the rebel army, he has well repaid by depicting their portraits in the favorable colors in which they appeared to his young imagination. But the garrulous old man has recorded several individual instances of atrocity in the career of Carbajal, which form but an indifferent commentary on the correctness of his general assertions in respect to his character.

among the soldiers of the New World. He was strict, even severe, in enforcing discipline, so that he was little loved by his followers. Whether he had the genius for military combinations requisite for conducting war on an extended scale may be doubted; but in the shifts and turns of guerilla warfare he was unrivalled. Prompt, active, and persevering, he was insensible to danger or fatigue, and, after days spent in the saddle, seemed to attach little value to the luxury of a bed.[10]

He knew familiarly every mountain-pass, and such were the sagacity and the resources displayed in his roving expeditions that he was vulgarly believed to be attended by a *familiar*.[11] With a character so extraordinary, with powers prolonged so far beyond the usual term of humanity, and passions so fierce in one tottering on the verge of the grave, it was not surprising that many fabulous stories should be eagerly circulated respecting him, and that Carbajal should be clothed with mysterious terrors as a sort of supernatural being,—the demon of the Andes!

Very different were the circumstances attending the closing scene of Gonzalo Pizarro. At his request, no one had been allowed to visit him in

[10] "Fue maior sufridor de trabajos, que requeria su edad, porque à maravilla se quitaba las Armas de Dia, ni de Noche, i quando era necesario, tampoco se acostaba, ni dormia mas de quanto recostado en vna Silla, se le cansaba la mano en que arrimaba la Cabeça." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 5, cap. 14.

[11] Pedro Pizarro, who seems to have entertained feelings not unfriendly to Carbajal, thus sums up his character in a few words: "Era mui lenguaz: hablaba muy discreptamente y á gusto de los que le oian: era hombre sagaz, cruel, bien entendido en la guerra. . . . Este Carbajal era tan sabio que decian tenia familiar." Descub. y Conq., MS.

his confinement. He was heard pacing his tent during the greater part of the day, and when night came, having ascertained from Centeno that his execution was to take place at the following noon, he laid himself down to rest. He did not sleep long, however, but soon rose, and continued to traverse his apartment, as if buried in meditation, till dawn. He then sent for a confessor, and remained with him till after the hour of noon, taking little or no refreshment. The officers of justice became impatient; but their eagerness was sternly rebuked by the soldiery, many of whom, having served under Gonzalo's banner, were touched with pity for his misfortunes.

When the chieftain came forth to execution, he showed in his dress the same love of magnificence and display as in happier days. Over his doublet he wore a superb cloak of yellow velvet, stiff with gold embroidery, while the head was protected by a cap of the same material, richly decorated, in like manner, with ornaments of gold.[12] In this gaudy attire he mounted his mule, and the sentence was so far relaxed that his arms were suffered to remain unshackled. He was escorted by a goodly number of priests and friars, who held up the crucifix before his eyes, while he carried in his own hand an image of the Virgin. She had ever been the peculiar object of Pizarro's devotion; so much so that those who knew him

[12] "Al tiempo que lo mataron, diò al Verdugo toda la Ropa que traìa, que era mui rica, i de mucho valor, porque tenia vna Ropa de Armas de Terciopelo amarillo, casi toda cubierta de Chaperia de Oro, i vn Chapeo de la misma forma." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 7, cap. 8.

best in the hour of his prosperity were careful, when they had a petition, to prefer it in the name of the blessed Mary.

Pizarro's lips were frequently pressed to the emblem of his divinity, while his eyes were bent on the crucifix in apparent devotion, heedless of the objects around him. On reaching the scaffold he ascended it with a firm step, and asked leave to address a few words to the soldiery gathered round it. "There are many among you," said he, "who have grown rich on my brother's bounty and my own. Yet of all my riches nothing remains to me but the garments I have on; and even these are not mine, but the property of the executioner. I am without means, therefore, to purchase a mass for the welfare of my soul; and I implore you, by the remembrance of past benefits, to extend this charity to me when I am gone, that it may be well with you in the hour of death." A profound silence reigned throughout the martial multitude, broken only by sighs and groans, as they listened to Pizarro's request; and it was faithfully responded to, since, after his death, masses were said in many of the towns for the welfare of the departed chieftain.

Then, kneeling down before a crucifix placed on a table, Pizarro remained for some minutes absorbed in prayer; after which, addressing the soldier who was to act as the minister of justice, he calmly bade him "do his duty with a steady hand." He refused to have his eyes bandaged, and, bending forward his neck, submitted it to the sword of the executioner, who struck off the

head with a single blow, so true that the body remained for some moments in the same erect posture as in life.[13] The head was taken to Lima, where it was set in a cage or frame and then fixed on a gibbet by the side of Carbajal's. On it was placed a label bearing the inscription, "This is the head of the traitor Gonzalo Pizarro, who rebelled in Peru against his sovereign, and battled in the cause of tyranny and treason against the royal standard in the valley of Xaquixaguana."[14] His large estates, including the rich mines in Potosí, were confiscated; his mansion in Lima was razed to the ground, the place strewn with salt, and a stone pillar set up, with an inscription interdicting any one from building on a spot which had been profaned by the residence of a traitor.

Gonzalo's remains were not exposed to the indignities inflicted on Carbajal's, whose quarters were hung in chains on the four great roads leading to Cuzco. Centeno saved Pizarro's body from being stripped, by redeeming his costly raiment from the executioner, and in this sumptuous shroud it was laid in the chapel of the convent of Our Lady of Mercy in Cuzco. It was the same spot where, side by side, lay the bloody

[13] "The executioner," says Garcilasso, with a simile more expressive than elegant, "did his work as cleanly as if he had been slicing off a head of lettuce!" "De vn reues le cortò la cabeça con tanta facilidad, como si fuera vna hoja de lechuga, y se quedò con ella en la mano, y tardò el cuerpo algun espacio en caer en el suelo." Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 43.

[14] "Esta es la cabeza del traidor de Gonzalo Pizarro que se hizo justicia del en el valle de Aquixaguana, donde dió la batalla campal contra el estandarte real queriendo defendèr su traicion e tirania: ninguno sea osado de la quitar de aqui so pena de muerte natural." Zarate, MS.

remains of the Almagros, father and son, who in like manner had perished by the hand of justice and were indebted to private charity for their burial. All these were now consigned "to the same grave," says the historian, with some bitterness, "as if Peru could not afford land enough for a burial-place to its conquerors."[15]

Gonzalo Pizarro had reached only his forty-second year at the time of his death,—being just half the space allotted to his follower Carbajal. He was the youngest of the remarkable family to whom Spain was indebted for the acquisition of Peru. He came over to the country with his brother Francisco on the return of the latter from his visit to Castile. Gonzalo was present at all the remarkable passages of the Conquest. He witnessed the seizure of Atahuallpa, took an active part in suppressing the insurrection of the Incas, and especially in the reduction of Charcas. He afterwards led the disastrous expedition to the Amazon, and, finally, headed the memorable rebellion which ended so fatally to himself. There are but few men whose lives abound in such wild and romantic adventure, and, for the most part, crowned with success. The space which he occupies in the page of history is altogether dispro-

[15] "Y las sepolturas vna solo auiendo de ser tres: que aun la tierra parece que les faltò para auer los de cubrir." Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 43.—For the tragic particulars of the preceding pages, see Ibid., cap. 39–43.—Relacion del Lic. Gasca, MS.—Carta de Valdivia, MS.—MS. de Caravantes.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. 186.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 91.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 7, cap. 8.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 8, lib. 4, cap. 16.

portioned to his talents. It may be in some measure ascribed to fortune, but still more to those showy qualities which form a sort of substitute for mental talent, and which secured his popularity with the vulgar.

He had a brilliant exterior; excelled in all martial exercises; rode well, fenced well, managed his lance to perfection, was a first-rate marksman with the arquebuse, and added the accomplishment of being an excellent draughtsman. He was bold and chivalrous, even to temerity; courted adventure, and was always in the front of danger. He was a knight-errant, in short, in the most extravagant sense of the term, and, "mounted on his favorite charger," says one who had often seen him, "made no more account of a squadron of Indians than of a swarm of flies."[16]

While thus by his brilliant exploits and showy manners he captivated the imaginations of his countrymen, he won their hearts no less by his soldier-like frankness, his trust in their fidelity, —too often abused,—and his liberal largesses; for Pizarro, though avaricious of the property of others, was, like the Roman conspirator, prodigal of his own. This was his portrait in happier days, when his heart had not been corrupted by success; for that some change was wrought in him by his prosperity is well attested. His head was made giddy by his elevation; and it is proof of a want of talent equal to his success, that he knew not

[16] "Quando Gonçalo Pizarro, que aya gloria, se veya en su zaynillo, no hazia mas caso de esquadrones de Yndios, que si fueran de moscas." Garcilasso, Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 43.

how to profit by it. Obeying the dictates of his own rash judgment, he rejected the warnings of his wisest counsellors, and relied with blind confidence on his destiny. Garcilasso imputes this to the malignant influence of the stars.[17] But the superstitious chronicler might have better explained it by a common principle of human nature; by the presumption nourished by success, —the insanity, as the Roman, or rather Grecian, proverb calls it, with which the gods afflict men when they design to ruin them.[18]

Gonzalo was without education, except such as he had picked up in the rough school of war. He had little even of that wisdom which springs from natural shrewdness and insight into character. In all this he was inferior to his elder brothers, although he fully equalled them in ambition. Had he possessed a tithe of their sagacity, he would not have madly persisted in rebellion after the coming of the president. Before this period he represented the people. Their interests and his were united. He had their support, for he was contending for the redress of their wrongs. When these were redressed by the government, there was nothing to contend for. From that time he was battling only for himself. The people had no part or interest in the contest. Without a common

[17] "Dezian que no era falta de entendimiento, pues lo tenia bastante, sino que deuia de ser sobra influencia de signos y planetas, que le cegauan y forcauan a que pusiesse la garganta al cuchillo." Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 33.

[18] "Ὅταν δὲ Δαίμων ἀνδρὶ πορσύνῃ κακὰ,
Τὸν νοῦν ἔβλαψε πρῶτον."
Eurip., Fragmenta.

sympathy to bind them together, was it strange that they should fall off from him, like leaves in winter, and leave him exposed, a bare and sapless trunk, to the fury of the tempest?

Cepeda, more criminal than Pizarro, since he had both superior education and intelligence, which he employed only to mislead his commander, did not long survive him. He had come to the country in an office of high responsibility. His first step was to betray the viceroy whom he was sent to support; his next was to betray the Audience with whom he should have acted; and lastly he betrayed the leader whom he most affected to serve. His whole career was treachery to his own government. His life was one long perfidy.

After his surrender, several of the cavaliers, disgusted at his cold-blooded apostasy, would have persuaded Gasca to send him to execution along with his commander; but the president refused, in consideration of the signal service he had rendered the crown by his defection. He was put under arrest, however, and sent to Castile. There he was arraigned for high treason. He made a plausible defence, and, as he had friends at court, it is not improbable he would have been acquitted; but before the trial was terminated he died in prison. It was the retributive justice not always to be found in the affairs of this world.[19]

[19] The cunning lawyer prepared so plausible an argument in his own justification that Yllescas, the celebrated historian of the Popes, declares that no one who reads the paper attentively but must rise from the perusal of it with an entire conviction of the writer's inno-

Indeed, it so happened that several of those who had been most forward to abandon the cause of Pizarro survived their commander but a short time. The gallant Centeno, and the Licentiate Carbajal, who deserted him near Lima and bore the royal standard on the field of Xaquixaguana, both died within a year after Pizarro. Hinojosa was assassinated but two years later, in La Plata; and his old comrade Valdivia, after a series of brilliant exploits in Chili, which furnished her most glorious theme to the epic muse of Castile, was cut off by the invincible warriors of Arauco. The manes of Pizarro were amply avenged.

Acosta, and three or four other cavaliers who surrendered with Gonzalo, were sent to execution on the same day with their chief; and Gasca, on the morning following the dismal tragedy, broke up his quarters and marched with his whole army to Cuzco, where he was received by the politic people with the same enthusiasm which they had so recently shown to his rival. He found there a number of the rebel army who had taken refuge in the city after their late defeat, where they were immediately placed under arrest. Proceedings, by Gasca's command, were instituted against them. The principal cavaliers, to the number of ten or twelve, were executed; others were banished or sent to the galleys. The same rigorous decrees were passed against such as had fled and were not yet taken; and the estates of all were confiscated. The estates of the rebels supplied

cence and of his unshaken loyalty to the crown. See the passage quoted by Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 6, cap. 10.

a fund for the recompense of the loyal.[20] The execution of justice may seem to have been severe; but Gasca was willing that the rod should fall heavily on those who had so often rejected his proffers of grace. Lenity was wasted on a rude, licentious soldiery, who hardly recognized the existence of government unless they felt its rigor.

A new duty now devolved on the president,—that of rewarding his faithful followers,—not less difficult, as it proved, than that of punishing the guilty. The applicants were numerous; since every one who had raised a finger in behalf of the government claimed his reward. They urged their demands with a clamorous importunity which perplexed the good president and consumed every moment of his time.

Disgusted with this unprofitable state of things, Gasca resolved to rid himself of the annoyance at once, by retiring to the valley of Guaynarima, about twelve leagues distant from the city, and there digesting in quiet a scheme of compensation adjusted to the merits of the parties. He was accompanied only by his secretary, and by Loaysa, now Archbishop of Lima, a man of sense and well acquainted with the affairs of the country. In this seclusion the president remained three months, making a careful examination into the conflicting claims, and apportioning the forfeitures among the parties according to their respective services. The *repartimientos*, it should be remarked, were

[20] Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Fernandez, Hist del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 91.—Carta de Valdivia, MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 7, cap. 8.—Relacion del Lic. Gasca, MS.

usually granted only for life, and on the death of the incumbent reverted to the crown, to be reassigned or retained at its pleasure.

When his arduous task was completed, Gasca determined to withdraw to Lima, leaving the instrument of partition with the archbishop, to be communicated to the army. Notwithstanding all the care that had been taken for an equitable adjustment, Gasca was aware that it was impossible to satisfy the demands of a jealous and irritable soldiery, where each man would be likely to exaggerate his own deserts, while he underrated those of his comrades; and he did not care to expose himself to importunities and complaints that could serve no other purpose than to annoy him.

On his departure the troops were called together by the archbishop in the cathedral, to learn the contents of the schedule intrusted to him. A discourse was first preached by a worthy Dominican, the prior of Arequipa, in which the reverend father expatiated on the virtue of contentment, the duty of obedience, and the folly as well as wickedness of an attempt to resist the constituted authorities,—topics, in short, which he conceived might best conciliate the good will and conformity of his audience.

A letter from the president was then read from the pulpit. It was addressed to the officers and soldiers of the army. The writer began with briefly exposing the difficulties of his task, owing to the limited amount of the gratuities and the great number and services of the claimants. He had given the matter the most careful considera-

tion, he said, and endeavored to assign to each his share according to his deserts, without prejudice or partiality. He had, no doubt, fallen into errors, but he trusted his followers would excuse them when they reflected that he had done according to the best of his poor abilities; and all, he believed, would do him the justice to acknowledge he had not been influenced by motives of personal interest. He bore emphatic testimony to the services they had rendered to the good cause, and concluded with the most affectionate wishes for their future prosperity and happiness. The letter was dated at Guaynarima, August 17th, 1548, and bore the simple signature of the Licentiate Gasca.[21]

The archbishop next read the paper containing the president's award. The annual rent of the estates to be distributed amounted to a hundred and thirty thousand *pesos ensayados;*[22] a large amount, considering the worth of money in that day,—in any other country than Peru, where money was a drug.[23]

[21] MS. de Caravantes.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 7, cap. 9.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 92.

[22] The *peso ensayado*, according to Garcilasso, was one-fifth more in value than the Castilian ducat. Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 6, cap. 3.

[23] "Entre los cavalleros capitanes y soldados que le ayudaron en esta ocasion repartió el Presidente Pedro de la Gasca 135,000 pesos ensayados de renta que estaban vacos, y no un millon y tantos mil pesos, como dize Diego Fernandez, que escrivió en Palencia estas alteraciones, y de quien lo tomó Antonio de Herrera: y porque esta ocasion fué la segunda en que los benemeritos del Pirú fundan con razon los servicios de sus pasados, porque mediante esta batalla aseguro la corona de Castilla las provincias mas ricas que tiene en America, pondré sus nombres para que se conserbe con certeza su memoria como pareze en el auto original que proveyó en el asiento

The *repartimientos* thus distributed varied in value from one hundred to thirty-five hundred *pesos* of yearly rent; all, apparently, graduated with the nicest precision to the merits of the parties. The number of pensioners was about two hundred and fifty; for the fund would not have sufficed for general distribution, nor were the services of the greater part deemed worthy of such a mark of consideration.[24]

The effect produced by the document, on men whose minds were filled with the most indefinite expectations, was just such as had been anticipated by the president. It was received with a general murmur of disapprobation. Even those who had got more than they expected were discontented, on comparing their condition with that of

de Guainarima cerca de la ciudad del Cuzco en diez y siete de Agosto de 1548, que está en los archivos de govierno." MS. de Caravantes.—The sum mentioned in the text as thus divided among the army falls very far short of the amount stated by Garcilasso, Fernandez, Zarate, and, indeed, every other writer on the subject, none of whom estimate it at less than a million of *pesos*. But Caravantes, from whom I have taken it, copies the original act of partition preserved in the royal archives. Yet Garcilasso de la Vega ought to have been well informed of the value of these estates, which, according to him, far exceeded the estimate given in the schedule. Thus, for instance, Hinojosa, he says, obtained from the share of lands and rich mines assigned to him from the property of Gonzalo Pizarro no less than 200,000 *pesos*, annually, while Andana, the Licentiate Carbajal, and others had estates which yielded them from 10,000 to 50,000 *pesos*. (Ibid., ubi supra.) It is impossible to reconcile these monstrous discrepancies. No sum seems to have been too large for the credulity of the ancient chronicler; and the imagination of the reader is so completely bewildered by the actual riches of this El Dorado that it is difficult to adjust his faith by any standard of probability.

[24] Caravantes has transcribed from the original act a full catalogue of the pensioners, with the amount of the sums set against each of their names.

their comrades, whom they thought still better remunerated in proportion to their deserts. They especially inveighed against the preference shown to the old partisans of Gonzalo Pizarro—as Hinojosa, Centeno, and Aldana—over those who had always remained loyal to the crown. There was some ground for such a preference, for none had rendered so essential services in crushing the rebellion; and it was these services that Gasca proposed to recompense. To reward every man who had proved himself loyal, simply for his loyalty, would have frittered away the donative into fractions that would be of little value to any.[25]

It was in vain, however, that the archbishop, seconded by some of the principal cavaliers, endeavored to infuse a more contented spirit into the multitude. They insisted that the award should be rescinded, and a new one made on more equitable principles; threatening, moreover, that if this were not done by the president they would take the redress of the matter into their own hands. Their discontent, fomented by some mischievous persons who thought to find their account in it, at length proceeded so far as to menace a mutiny; and it was not suppressed till the commander of Cuzco sentenced one of the ringleaders to death and several others to banishment. The iron soldiery of the Conquest required an iron hand to rule them.

[25] The president found an ingenious way of remunerating several of his followers, by bestowing on them the hands of the rich widows of the cavaliers who had perished in the war. The inclinations of the ladies do not seem to have been always consulted in this politic arrangement. See Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 6, cap. 3.

Meanwhile the president had continued his journey towards Lima, and on the way was everywhere received by the people with an enthusiasm the more grateful to his heart that he felt he had deserved it. As he drew near the capital, the loyal inhabitants prepared to give him a magnificent reception. The whole population came forth from the gates, led by the authorities of the city, with Aldana as corregidor at their head. Gasca rode on a mule, dressed in his ecclesiastical robes. On his right, borne on a horse richly caparisoned, was the royal seal, in a box curiously chased and ornamented. A gorgeous canopy of brocade was supported above his head by the officers of the municipality, who, in their robes of crimson velvet, walked bareheaded by his side. Gay troops of dancers, clothed in fantastic dresses of gaudy-colored silk, followed the procession, strewing flowers and chanting verses as they went, in honor of the president. They were designed as emblematical of the different cities of the colony; and they bore legends or mottoes in rhyme on their caps, intimating their loyal devotion to the crown, and evincing much more loyalty in their composition, it may be added, than poetical merit.[26] In this way, without beat of drum, or noise of artillery, or any of the rude accompaniments of war, the good president made his peaceful entry into the City of the Kings, while the air was rent with the acclamations of the

[26] Fernandez has collected these flowers of colonial poesy, which prove that the old Conquerors were much less expert with the pen than with the sword. Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 93.

people, who hailed him as their "Father and Deliverer, the Saviour of their country!"[27]

But, however grateful this homage to Gasca's heart, he was not the man to waste his time in idle vanities. He now thought only by what means he could eradicate the seeds of disorder which shot up so readily in this fruitful soil, and how he could place the authority of the government on a permanent basis. By virtue of his office, he presided over the Royal Audience, the great judicial and, indeed, executive tribunal of the colony; and he gave great despatch to the business, which had much accumulated during the late disturbances. In the unsettled state of property, there was abundant subject for litigation; but, fortunately, the new Audience was composed of able, upright judges, who labored diligently with their chief to correct the mischief caused by the misrule of their predecessors.

Neither was Gasca unmindful of the unfortunate natives; and he occupied himself earnestly with that difficult problem,—the best means practicable of ameliorating their condition. He sent a number of commissioners, as visitors, into different parts of the country, whose business it was to inspect the *encomiendos* and ascertain the manner in which the Indians were treated, by conversing not only with the proprietors, but with the natives themselves. They were also to learn the

[27] "Fue recibimiento mui solemne, con universal alegria del Pueblo, por verse libre de Tiranos; i toda la Gente, à voces, benedecia al Presidente, i le llamaban: Padre, Restaurador, i Pacificador, dando gracias à Dios, por haver vengado las injurias hechas à su Divina Magestad." Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 8, lib. 4, cap. 17.

nature and extent of the tributes paid in former times by the vassals of the Incas.[28]

In this way a large amount of valuable information was obtained, which enabled Gasca, with the aid of a council of ecclesiastics and jurists, to digest a uniform system of taxation for the natives, lighter even than that imposed on them by the Peruvian princes. The president would gladly have relieved the conquered races from the obligations of personal service; but, on mature consideration, this was judged impracticable in the present state of the country, since the colonists, more especially in the tropical regions, looked to the natives for the performance of labor, and the latter, it was found from experience, would not work at all unless compelled to do so. The president, however, limited the amount of service to be exacted, with great precision, so that it was in the nature of a moderate personal tax. No Peruvian was to be required to change his place of residence, from the climate to which he had been accustomed, to another,—a fruitful source of discomfort, as well as of disease, in past times. By these various regulations the condition of the natives, though not such as had been contemplated by the sanguine

[28] "El Presidente Gasca mando visitar todas las provincias y repartimientos deste reyno, nombrando para ello personas de autoridad y de quien se tenia entendido que tenian conoscimiento de la tierra que se les encargavan, que ha de ser la principal calidad, que se ha buscar en la persona, a quien se comete semejante negocio despues que sea Cristiana: lo segundo se les dio instruccion de lo que hauian de averiguar, que fueron muchas cosas: el numero, las haciendas, los tratos y grangerias, la calidad de la gente y de sus tierras y comarca y lo que davan de tributo." Ondegardo, Rel. Prim., MS.

philanthropy of Las Casas, was improved far more than was compatible with the craving demands of the colonists; and all the firmness of the Audience was required to enforce provisions so unpalatable to the latter. Still, they were enforced. Slavery, in its most odious sense, was no longer tolerated in Peru. The term "slave" was not recognized as having relation to her institutions; and the historian of the Indies makes the proud boast—it should have been qualified by the limitations I have noticed—that every Indian vassal might aspire to the rank of a freeman.[29]

Besides these reforms, Gasca introduced several in the municipal government of the cities, and others yet more important in the management of the finances and in the mode of keeping the accounts. By these and other changes in the internal economy of the colony he placed the administration on a new basis, and greatly facilitated the way for a more sure and orderly government by his successors. As a final step, to secure the repose of the country after he was gone, he detached some of the more aspiring cavaliers on distant expeditions, trusting that they would draw off the light and restless spirits who might otherwise gather together and disturb the public tranquillity; as we sometimes see the mists which have been scattered by the genial influence of the sun

[29] "El Presidente i el Audiencia dieron tales ordenes que este negocio se asentò, de manera, que para adelante no se platicò mas este nombre de Esclavos, sino que la libertad fue general por todo el Reino." Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 8, lib. 5, cap. 7.

become condensed and settle into a storm on his departure.[30]

Gasca had been now more than fifteen months in Lima, and nearly three years had elapsed since his first entrance into Peru. In that time he had accomplished the great objects of his mission. When he landed, he found the colony in a state of anarchy, or rather organized rebellion under a powerful and popular chief. He came without funds or forces to support him. The former he procured through the credit which he established in his good faith; the latter he won over by argument and persuasion from the very persons to whom they had been confided by his rival. Thus he turned the arms of that rival against himself.

By a calm appeal to reason he wrought a change in the hearts of the people; and without costing a drop of blood to a single loyal subject he suppressed a rebellion which had menaced Spain with the loss of the wealthiest of her provinces. He had punished the guilty, and in their spoils found the means to recompense the faithful. He had, moreover, so well husbanded the resources of the country that he was enabled to pay off the large loan he had negotiated with the merchants of the colony for the expenses of the war, exceeding nine hundred thousand *pesos de oro*.[31] Nay, more, by

[30] MS. de Caravantes.—Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. 187.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 93–95.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 7, cap. 10.

[31] "Recogiò tanta suma de dinero, que pagò novecientos mil pesos de Oro, que se hallò haver gastado, desde el Dia que entrò en Panamá, hasta que se acabò la Guerra, los quales tomò prestados." Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 8, lib. 5, cap. 7.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 7, cap. 10.

his economy he had saved a million and a half of ducats for the government, which for some years had received nothing from Peru; and he now proposed to carry back this acceptable treasure to swell the royal coffers.[32] All this had been accomplished without the cost of outfit or salary, or any charge to the crown except that of his own frugal expenditure.[33] The country was now in a state of tranquillity. Gasca felt that his work was done, and that he was free to gratify his natural longing to return to his native land.

Before his departure he arranged a distribution of those *repartimientos* which had lapsed to the crown during the past year by the death of the incumbents. Life was short in Peru; since those who lived by the sword, if they did not die by the sword, too often fell easy victims to the hardships incident to their adventurous career. Many were the applicants for the new bounty of government; and, as among them were some of those who had been discontented with the former partition, Gasca was assailed by remonstrances, and sometimes by reproaches couched in no very decorous or respectful language. But they had

[32] "Aviendo pagado el Presidente las costas de la guerra que fueron muchas, remitió á S. M. y lo llevó consigo 264,422 marcos de plata, que á seis ducados valieron 1 millon 588,332 ducados." MS. de Caravantes.

[33] "No tubo ni quiso salario el Presidente Gasca sino cedula para que á un mayordomo suyo diosen los Oficiales reales lo necesario de la real Hacienda, que como pareze de los quadernos de su gasto fué muy moderado." (MS. de Caravantes.) Gasca, it appears, was most exact in keeping the accounts of his disbursements for the expenses of himself and household, from the time he embarked for the colonies.

no power to disturb his equanimity: he patiently listened, and replied to all in the mild tone of expostulation best calculated to turn away wrath; "by this victory over himself," says an old writer, "acquiring more real glory than by all his victories over his enemies."[34]

An incident occurred on the eve of his departure, touching in itself, and honorable to the parties concerned. The Indian caciques of the neighboring country, mindful of the great benefits he had rendered their people, presented him with a considerable quantity of plate in token of their gratitude. But Gasca refused to receive it, though in doing so he gave much concern to the Peruvians, who feared they had unwittingly fallen under his displeasure.

Many of the principal colonists, also, from the same wish to show their sense of his important services, sent to him, after he had embarked, a magnificent donative of fifty thousand gold *castellanos*. "As he had taken leave of Peru," they said, "there could be no longer any ground for declining it." But Gasca was as decided in his rejection of this present as he had been of the other. "He had come to the country," he remarked, "to serve the king and to secure the blessings of peace to the inhabitants; and now that, by the favor of Heaven, he had been permitted to accomplish this, he would not dishonor the cause by any act that might throw suspicion on the purity of his motives." Notwithstanding his

[34] "En lo qual hizo mas que en vencer y ganar todo aquel Ymperio: porque fue vencerse assi proprio." Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 6, cap. 7.

refusal, the colonists contrived to secrete the sum of twenty thousand *castellanos* on board of his vessel, with the idea that, once in his own country, with his mission concluded, the president's scruples would be removed. Gasca did, indeed, accept the donative, for he felt that it would be ungracious to send it back; but it was only till he could ascertain the relatives of the donors, when he distributed it among the most needy.[35]

Having now settled all his affairs, the president committed the government, until the arrival of a viceroy, to his faithful partners of the Royal Audience, and in January, 1550, he embarked with the royal treasure on board of a squadron for Panamá. He was accompanied to the shore by a numerous crowd of the inhabitants, cavaliers and common people, persons of all ages and conditions, who followed to take their last look of their benefactor and watch with straining eyes the vessel that bore him away from their land.

His voyage was prosperous, and early in March the president reached his destined port. He stayed there only till he could muster horses and mules sufficient to carry the treasure across the mountains; for he knew that this part of the country abounded in wild, predatory spirits, who would be sorely tempted to some act of violence by a knowledge of the wealth which he had with him. Pushing forward, therefore, he crossed the rugged Isthmus, and, after a painful march, arrived in safety at Nombre de Dios.

The event justified his apprehensions. He had

[35] Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 95.

been gone but three days when a ruffian horde, after murdering the Bishop of Guatemala, broke into Panamá with the design of inflicting the same fate on the president and of seizing the booty. No sooner were the tidings communicated to Gasca than, with his usual energy, he levied a force and prepared to march to the relief of the invaded capital. But Fortune—or, to speak more correctly, Providence—favored him here, as usual; and on the eve of his departure he learned that the marauders had been met by the citizens and discomfited with great slaughter. Disbanding his forces, therefore, he equipped a fleet of nineteen vessels to transport himself and the royal treasure to Spain, where he arrived in safety, entering the harbor of Seville after a little more than four years from the period when he had sailed from the same port.[36]

Great was the sensation throughout the country caused by his arrival. Men could hardly believe that results so momentous had been accomplished in so short a time by a single individual,—a poor ecclesiastic, who, unaided by the government, had by his own strength, as it were, put down a rebellion which had so long set the arms of Spain at defiance!

The emperor was absent in Flanders. He was overjoyed on learning the complete success of Gasca's mission, and not less satisfied with the tidings of the treasure he had brought with him;

[36] MS. de Caravantes.—Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. 183.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 2, lib. 1, cap. 10.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 7, cap. 13.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 8, lib. 6, cap. 17.

for the exchequer, rarely filled to overflowing, had been exhausted by the recent troubles in Germany. Charles instantly wrote to the president, requiring his presence at court, that he might learn from his own lips the particulars of his expedition. Gasca, accordingly, attended by a numerous retinue of nobles and cavaliers,—for who does not pay homage to him whom the king delighteth to honor? —embarked at Barcelona, and, after a favorable voyage, joined the court in Flanders.

He was received by his royal master, who fully appreciated his services, in a manner most grateful to his feelings; and not long afterwards he was raised to the bishopric of Palencia,—a mode of acknowledgment best suited to his character and deserts. Here he remained till 1561, when he was promoted to the vacant see of Siguenza. The rest of his days he passed peacefully in the discharge of his episcopal functions, honored by his sovereign, and enjoying the admiration and respect of his countrymen.[37]

In his retirement he was still consulted by the government in matters of importance relating to the Indies. The disturbances of that unhappy land were renewed, though on a much smaller scale than before, soon after the president's departure. They were chiefly caused by discontent with the *repartimientos*, and with the constancy of the Audience in enforcing the benevolent restrictions as to the personal services of the natives.

[37] Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 8, lib. 6, cap. 17.—MS. de Caravantes.—Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. 182.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 2, lib. 1, cap. 10.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 7, cap. 13.

THE TOMB OF PEDRO DE LA GASCA AT VALLADOLID

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[illegible] 8, lib. [illegible] cap. 17.—MS. de Car[illegible] [illegible] 182.—Fernandez, [illegible] [illegible] Cong. del Peru, [illegible]

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But these troubles subsided, after a very few years, under the wise rule of the Mendozas,—two successive viceroys of that illustrious house which has given so many of its sons to the service of Spain. Under their rule the mild yet determined policy was pursued of which Gasca had set the example. The ancient distractions of the country were permanently healed. With peace, prosperity returned within the borders of Peru; and the consciousness of the beneficent results of his labors may have shed a ray of satisfaction, as it did of glory, over the evening of the president's life.

That life was brought to a close in November, 1567, at an age, probably, not far from the one fixed by the sacred writer as the term of human existence.[38] He died at Valladolid, and was buried in the church of Santa Maria Magdalena, in that city, which he had built and liberally endowed. His monument, surmounted by the sculptured effigy of a priest in his sacerdotal robes, is still to be seen there, attracting the admiration of the traveller by the beauty of its execution. The banners taken from Gonzalo Pizarro on the field of Xaquixaguana were suspended over his tomb, as the trophies of his memorable mission to Peru.[39]

[38] I have met with no account of the year in which Gasca was born; but an inscription on his portrait in the sacristy of St. Mary Magdalene at Valladolid, states that he died in 1567, at the age of seventy-one. This is perfectly consistent with the time of life at which he had probably arrived when we find him a collegiate at Salamanca, in the year 1522.

[39] "Murió en Valladolid, donde mandó enterrar su cuerpo en la Iglesia de la advocacion de la Magdalena, que hizo edificar en aquella ciudad, donde se pusieron las vanderas que ganó á Gonzalo Pizarro." MS. de Caravantes.

The banners have long since mouldered into dust, with the remains of him who slept beneath them; but the memory of his good deeds will endure forever.[40]

Gasca was plain in person, and his countenance was far from comely. He was awkward and ill proportioned; for his limbs were too long for his body,—so that when he rode he appeared to be much shorter than he really was.[41] His dress was humble, his manners simple, and there was nothing imposing in his presence. But, on a nearer intercourse, there was a charm in his discourse that effaced every unfavorable impression produced by his exterior, and won the hearts of his hearers.

The president's character may be thought to have been sufficiently portrayed in the history already given of his life. It presented a combination of qualities which generally serve to neutralize each other, but which were mixed in such

[40] The memory of his achievements has not been left entirely to the care of the historian. It is but a few years since the character and administration of Gasca formed the subject of an elaborate panegyric from one of the most distinguished statesmen in the British parliament. (See Lord Brougham's speech on the maltreatment of the North American colonies, February, 1838.) The enlightened Spaniard of our day, who contemplates with sorrow the excesses committed by his countrymen of the sixteenth century in the New World, may feel an honest pride that in this company of dark spirits should be found one to whom the present generation may turn as to the brightest model of integrity and wisdom.

[41] "Era muy pequeño de cuerpo con estraña hechura, que de la cintura abaxo tenia tanto cuerpo, como qualquiera hombre alto, y de la cintura al hombro no tenia vna tercia. Andando a cauallo parescia a vn mas pequeño de lo que era, porque todo era piernas: de rostro era muy feo: pero lo que la naturaleza le nego de las dotes del cuerpo, se los doblò en los del animo." Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 5, cap. 2.

proportions in him as to give it additional strength. He was gentle, yet resolute; by nature intrepid, yet preferring to rely on the softer arts of policy. He was frugal in his personal expenditure, and economical in the public, yet caring nothing for riches on his own account, and never stinting his bounty when the public good required it. He was benevolent and placable, yet could deal sternly with the impenitent offender; lowly in his deportment, yet with a full measure of that self-respect which springs from conscious rectitude of purpose; modest and unpretending, yet not shrinking from the most difficult enterprises; deferring greatly to others, yet, in the last resort, relying mainly on himself; moving with deliberation,—patiently waiting his time,—but, when that came, bold, prompt, and decisive.

Gasca was not a man of genius, in the vulgar sense of that term. At least, no one of his intellectual powers seems to have received an extraordinary development, beyond what is found in others. He was not a great writer, nor a great orator, nor a great general. He did not affect to be either. He committed the care of his military matters to military men; of ecclesiastical, to the clergy; and his civil and judicial concerns he reposed on the members of the Audience. He was not one of those little great men who aspire to do every thing themselves, under the conviction that nothing can be done so well by others. But the president was a keen judge of character. Whatever might be the office, he selected the best man for it. He did more. He assured himself of the

fidelity of his agents, presided at their deliberations, dictated a general line of policy, and thus infused a spirit of unity into their plans which made all move in concert to the accomplishment of one grand result.

A distinguishing feature of his mind was his common sense,—the best substitute for genius in a ruler who has the destinies of his fellow-men at his disposal, and more indispensable than genius itself. In Gasca the different qualities were blended in such harmony that there was no room for excess. They seemed to regulate each other. While his sympathy with mankind taught him the nature of their wants, his reason suggested to what extent these were capable of relief, as well as the best mode of effecting it. He did not waste his strength on illusory schemes of benevolence, like Las Casas, on the one hand; nor did he countenance the selfish policy of the colonists, on the other. He aimed at the practicable,—the greatest good practicable.

In accomplishing his objects, he disclaimed force equally with fraud. He trusted for success to his power over the convictions of his hearers; and the source of this power was the confidence he inspired in his own integrity. Amidst all the calumnies of faction, no imputation was ever cast on the integrity of Gasca.[42] No wonder that a virtue so rare should be of high price in Peru.

[42] "Fue tan recatado y estremado en esta virtud, que puesto que de muchos quedò mal quisto, quando del Perù se partio para España, por el repartimiento que hizo: con todo esso, jamas nadie dixo del, ni sospechò; que en esto, ni otra cosa, se vuiesse mouido por codicia." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, Parte 1, lib. 2, cap. 95.

There are some men whose characters have been so wonderfully adapted to the peculiar crisis in which they appeared that they seem to have been specially designed for it by Providence. Such was Washington in our own country, and Gasca in Peru. We can conceive of individuals with higher qualities, at least with higher intellectual qualities, than belonged to either of these great men. But it was the wonderful conformity of their characters to the exigencies of their situation, the perfect adaptation of the means to the end, that constituted the secret of their success,—that enabled Gasca so gloriously to crush revolution, and Washington still more gloriously to achieve it.

Gasca's conduct on his first coming to the colonies affords the best illustration of his character. Had he come backed by a military array, or even clothed in the paraphernalia of authority, every heart and hand would have been closed against him. But the humble ecclesiastic excited no apprehension; and his enemies were already disarmed before he had begun his approaches. Had Gasca, impatient of Hinojosa's tardiness, listened to the suggestions of those who advised his seizure, he would have brought his cause into jeopardy by this early display of violence. But he wisely chose to win over his enemy by operating on his conviction.

In like manner, he awaited his time for making his entry into Peru. He suffered his communications to do their work in the minds of the people, and was careful not to thrust in the sickle before

the harvest was ripe. In this way, wherever he went, every thing was prepared for his coming; and when he set foot in Peru the country was already his own.

After the dark and turbulent spirits with which we have been hitherto occupied, it is refreshing to dwell on a character like that of Gasca. In the long procession which has passed in review before us, we have seen only the mail-clad cavalier, brandishing his bloody lance and mounted on his war-horse, riding over the helpless natives or battling with his own friends and brothers; fierce, arrogant, and cruel, urged on by the lust of gold or the scarcely more honorable love of a bastard glory. Mingled with these qualities, indeed, we have seen sparkles of the chivalrous and romantic temper which belongs to the heroic age of Spain. But, with some honorable exceptions, it was the scum of her chivalry that resorted to Peru and took service under the banner of the Pizarros. At the close of this long array of iron warriors we behold the poor and humble missionary coming into the land on an errand of mercy and everywhere proclaiming the glad tidings of peace. No warlike trumpet heralds his approach, nor is his course to be tracked by the groans of the wounded and the dying. The means he employs are in perfect harmony with his end. His weapons are argument and mild persuasion. It is the reason he would conquer, not the body. He wins his way by conviction, not by violence. It is a moral victory to which he aspires, more potent, and happily more permanent, than that of the blood-stained

conqueror. As he thus calmly and imperceptibly, as it were, comes to his great results, he may remind us of the slow, insensible manner in which Nature works out her great changes in the material world, that are to endure when the ravages of the hurricane are passed away and forgotten.

With the mission of Gasca terminates the history of the Conquest of Peru. The Conquest, indeed, strictly terminates with the suppression of the Peruvian revolt, when the strength, if not the spirit, of the Inca race was crushed forever. The reader, however, might feel a natural curiosity to follow to its close the fate of the remarkable family who achieved the Conquest. Nor would the story of the invasion itself be complete without some account of the civil wars which grew out of it; which serve, moreover, as a moral commentary on preceding events, by showing that the indulgence of fierce, unbridled passions is sure to recoil, sooner or later, even in this life, on the heads of the guilty.

It is true, indeed, that the troubles of the country were renewed on the departure of Gasca. The waters had been too fearfully agitated to be stilled at once into a calm; but they gradually subsided under the temperate rule of his successors, who wisely profited by his policy and example. Thus the influence of the good president remained after he was withdrawn from the scene of his labors, and Peru, hitherto so distracted, continued to enjoy as large a share of repose as any portion of the colonial empire of Spain. With the benevolent mission of Gasca, then, the historian of the

Conquest may be permitted to terminate his labors, —with feelings not unlike those of the traveller who, having long journeyed among the dreary forests and dangerous defiles of the mountains, at length emerges on some pleasant landscape smiling in tranquillity and peace.

Augustin de Zarate—a highly respectable authority, frequently cited in the latter portion of this work—was *Contador de Mercedes*, Comptroller of Accounts, for Castile. This office he filled for fifteen years; after which he was sent by the government to Peru to examine into the state of the colonial finances, which had been greatly deranged by the recent troubles, and to bring them, if possible, into order.

Zarate went out accordingly in the train of the viceroy Blasco Nuñez, and found himself, through the passions of his imprudent leader, entangled, soon after his arrival, in the inextricable meshes of civil discord. In the struggle which ensued, he remained with the Royal Audience; and we find him in Lima, on the approach of Gonzalo Pizarro to that capital, when Zarate was deputed by the judges to wait on the insurgent chief and require him to disband his troops and withdraw to his own estates. The historian executed the mission, for which he seems to have had little relish, and which certainly was not without danger. From this period we rarely hear of him in the troubled scenes that ensued. He probably took no further part in affairs than was absolutely forced on him by circumstances; but the unfavorable bearing of his remarks on Gonzalo Pizarro intimates that, however he may have been discontented with the conduct of the viceroy, he did not countenance for a moment the criminal ambition of his rival. The times were certainly unpropitious to the execution of the financial reforms for which Zarate had come to Peru. But he showed so much real devotion to the interests of the crown that the emperor, on his return, signified his satisfaction by making him Superintendent of the Finances in Flanders.

Soon after his arrival in Peru he seems to have conceived the idea of making his countrymen at home acquainted with the stirring events passing in the colony, which, moreover, afforded some striking passages for the study of the historian. Although he collected notes and diaries, as he tells us, for this purpose, he did not dare to avail himself of them till his return to Castile. "For to have begun the history in Peru," he says, "would have alone been enough to put my life in jeopardy; since a certain commander, named Francisco de Carbajal, threatened to take vengeance on any one who should

be so rash as to attempt the relation of his exploits,—far less deserving, as they were, to be placed on record than to be consigned to eternal oblivion." In this same commander the reader will readily recognize the veteran lieutenant of Gonzalo Pizarro.

On his return home, Zarate set about the compilation of his work. His first purpose was to confine it to the events that followed the arrival of Blasco Nuñez; but he soon found that to make these intelligible he must trace the stream of history higher up towards its sources. He accordingly enlarged his plan, and, beginning with the discovery of Peru, gave an entire view of the conquest and subsequent occupation of the country, bringing the narrative down to the close of Gasca's mission. For the earlier portion of the story he relied on the accounts of persons who took a leading part in the events. He disposes more summarily of this portion than of that in which he himself was both a spectator and an actor; where his testimony, considering the advantages his position gave him for information, is of the highest value.

Alcedo, in his *Biblioteca Americana, MS.,* speaks of Zarate's work as "containing much that is good, but as not entitled to the praise of exactness." He wrote under the influence of party heat, which necessarily operates to warp the fairest mind somewhat from its natural bent. For this we must make allowance in perusing accounts of conflicting parties. But there is no intention, apparently, to turn the truth aside in support of his own cause; and his access to the best sources of knowledge often supplies us with particulars not within the reach of other chroniclers. His narrative is seasoned, moreover, with sensible reflections and passing comments, that open gleams of light into the dark passages of that eventful period. Yet the style of the author can make but moderate pretensions to the praise of elegance or exactness; while the sentences run into that tedious, interminable length which belongs to the garrulous compositions of the regular thoroughbred chronicler of the olden time.

The personalities necessarily incident more or less to such a work led its author to shrink from publication, at least during his life. By the jealous spirit of the Castilian cavalier, "censure," he says, "however light, is regarded with indignation, and even praise is rarely dealt out in a measure satisfactory to the subject of it." And he expresses his conviction that those do wisely who allow their accounts of their own times to repose in the quiet security of manuscript till the generation that is to be affected by them has passed away. His own manuscript, however, was submitted to the emperor; and it received such commendation from this royal authority that Zarate, plucking up a more courageous spirit, consented to give it to the press. It accordingly appeared at Antwerp, in 1555, in octavo; and a second edition was printed in folio, at Seville, in 1577. It has since been incorporated in Barcia's valuable collection; and, whatever indignation or displeasure it may have excited

among contemporaries, who smarted under the author's censure or felt themselves defrauded of their legitimate guerdon, Zarate's work has taken a permanent rank among the most respectable authorities for a history of the time.

The name of Zarate naturally suggests that of Fernandez, for both were laborers in the same field of history. Diego Fernandez de Palencia, or *Palentino,* as he is usually called, from the place of his birth, came over to Peru and served as a private in the royal army raised to quell the insurrections that broke out after Gasca's return to Castile. Amidst his military occupations he found leisure to collect materials for a history of the period, to which he was further urged by the viceroy, Mendoza, Marques de Cañete, who bestowed on him, as he tells us, the post of Chronicler of Peru. This mark of confidence in his literary capacity intimates higher attainments in Fernandez than might be inferred from the humble station that he occupied. With the fruits of his researches the soldier-chronicler returned to Spain, and, after a time, completed his narrative of the insurrection of Giron.

The manuscript was seen by the President of the Council of the Indies, and he was so much pleased with its execution that he urged the author to write the account, in like manner, of Gonzalo Pizarro's rebellion and of the administration of Gasca. The historian was further stimulated, as he mentions in his dedication to Philip the Second, by the promise of a guerdon from that monarch on the completion of his labors,—a very proper as well as politic promise, but which inevitably suggests the idea of an influence not altogether favorable to severe historic impartiality. Nor will such an inference be found altogether at variance with truth; for, while the narrative of Fernandez studiously exhibits the royal cause in the most favorable aspect to the reader, it does scanty justice to the claims of the opposite party. It would not be meet, indeed, that an apology for rebellion should be found in the pages of a royal pensioner; but there are always mitigating circumstances, which, however we may condemn the guilt, may serve to lessen our indignation towards the guilty. These circumstances are not to be found in the pages of Fernandez. It is unfortunate for the historian of such events that it is so difficult to find one disposed to do even justice to the claims of the unsuccessful rebel. Yet the Inca Garcilasso has not shrunk from this, in the case of Gonzalo Pizarro; and even Gomara, though living under the shadow, or rather in the sunshine, of the court, has occasionally ventured a generous protest in his behalf.

The countenance thus afforded to Fernandez from the highest quarter opened to him the best fountains of intelligence,—at least, on the government side of the quarrel. Besides personal communication with the royalist leaders, he had access to their correspondence, diaries, and official documents. He industriously profited

by his opportunities; and his narrative, taking up the story of the rebellion from its birth, continues it to its final extinction and the end of Gasca's administration. Thus the First Part of his work, as it was now called, was brought down to the commencement of the Second, and the whole presented a complete picture of the distractions of the nation, till a new order of things was introduced, and tranquillity was permanently established throughout the country.

The diction is sufficiently plain, not aspiring to rhetorical beauties beyond the reach of its author and out of keeping with the simple character of a chronicle. The sentences are arranged with more art than in most of the unwieldy compositions of the time; and, while there is no attempt at erudition or philosophic speculation, the current of events flows on in an orderly manner, tolerably prolix, it is true, but leaving a clear and intelligible impression on the mind of the reader. No history of that period compares with it in the copiousness of its details; and it has accordingly been resorted to by later compilers as an inexhaustible reservoir for the supply of their own pages; a circumstance that may be thought of itself to bear no slight testimony to the general fidelity, as well as fulness, of the narrative. The Chronicle of Fernandez, thus arranged in two parts, under the general title of *Historia del Peru,* was given to the world in the author's lifetime, at Seville, in 1571, in one volume, folio, being the edition used in the preparation of this work.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

No. I.—See vol. i. p. 32

DESCRIPTION OF THE ROYAL PROGRESSES OF THE INCAS; EXTRACTED FROM SARMIENTO'S RELACION, MS.

[The original manuscript, which was copied for Lord Kingsborough's valuable collection, is in the Library of the Escorial.]

Quando en tiempo de paz salian los Yngas a visitar su Reyno, cuentan que iban por el con gran majestad, sentados en ricas andas armadas sobre unos palos lisos largos, de manera escelente, engastadas en oro y argenteria, y de las andas salian dos arcos altos hechos de oro, engastados en piedras preciosas: caian unas mantas algo largas por todas las andas, de tal manera que las cubrian todas, y sino era queriendo el que iba dentro, no podia ser visto, ni alzaban las mantas si no era cuando entraba y salia, tanta era su estimacion; y para que le entrase aire, y el pudiese ver el camino, havia en las mantas hechos algunos agujeros hechos por todas partes. En estas andas habia riqueza, y en algunas estaba esculpido el Sol y la luna, y en otras unas culebras grandes ondadas y unos como bastones que las atravesaban. Esto trahian por encima por armas, y estas andas las llevaban en ombros de los Señores, los mayores y mas principales del Reyno, y aquel que mas con ellas andaba, aquel se

tenia por mas onrado y por mas faborecido. En rededor de las andas, a la ila, iba la guardia del Rey con los arqueros y alabarderos, y delante iban cinco mil honderos, y detras venian otros tantos Lanceros con sus Capitanes, y por los lados del camino y por el mesmo camino iban corredores fides, descubriendo lo que habia, y avisando la ida del Señor; y acudia tanta gente por lo ver, que parecia que todos los cerros y laderas estaba lleno de ella y todos le davan las vendiciones, alzando alaridos, y grita grande á su usanza, llamandole, *Ancha atunapo indichiri campa capalla apatuco pacha camba bolla Yulley*, que en nuestra lengua dirá " Muy grande y poderoso Señor, hijo del Sol, tu solo eres Señor, todo el mundo te oya en verdad," y sin esto le decian otras cosas mas altas, tanto que poco faltaba para le adorar por Dios. Todo el camino iban Yndios llimpiandolo, de tal manera que ni yerba ni piedra no parecia, sino todo limpio y barrido. Andaba cada dia cuatro leguas, o lo que el queria, paraba lo que era servido, para entender el estado de su Reyno, oia alegremente a los que con quejas le venian, remediando, y castigando a quien hacia injusticias; los que con ellos iban no se desmandaban a nada ni salian un paso del camino. Los naturales proveian a lo necesario, sin lo cual lo havia tan cumplido en los depositos, que sobraba, y ninguna cosa faltaba. Por donde iba, salian muchos hombres y mujeres y muchachos a servir personalmente en lo que les era mandado, y para llebar las cargas, los de un pueblo las llebaban hasta otro, de donde los unos las tomaban y los otros las dejaban, y como era un dia, y cuando mucho dos, no lo sentian, ni de ello recivian agravio ninguno. Pues yendo el Señor de esta manera, caminaba por su tierra el tiempo que le placia, viendo por sus ojos lo que pasaba, y proveyendo lo que entendia que convenia, que todo era cosas grandes e importantes; lo cual hecho, daba la buelta al Cuzco, principal Ciudad de todo su imperio.

No. II.—See vol. i. p. 72

ACCOUNT OF THE GREAT ROAD MADE BY THE INCAS OVER THE PLATEAU, FROM QUITO TO CUZCO; EXTRACTED FROM SARMIENTO'S RELACION, MS.

Una de las cosas de que yo mas me admiré, contemplando y notando las cosas de estos Reynos, fue pensar como y de que manera se pudieron hacer caminos tan grandes y sovervios como por el vemos, y que fuerzas de hombres bastaran á lo hacer, y con que herramientas y instrumentos pudieron allanar los montes y quebrantar las peñas para hacerlos tan anchos y buenos como estan; por que me parece que si el Emperador quisiese mandar hacer otro camino Real como el que bá del Quito al Cuzco ó sale del Cuzco para ir á Chile, ciertam^te^ creo, con todo su poder, para ello no fuese poderoso, ni fuerzas de hombres lo pudiesen hacer, sino fuese con la orden tan grande que para ello los Yngas mandaron que hubiese: por que si fuera Camino de cinquenta leguas, ó de ciento, ó de doscientas, es de creer que aunque la tierra fuera mas aspera, no se tubiera en mucho con buena diligencia hacerlo; mas estos eran tan largos que havia alguno que tenia mas de mil y cien leguas, todo hechado por sierras tan grandes y espantosas que por algunas partes mirando abajo se quitaba la vista, y algunas de estas Sierras derechas y llenas de piedras, tanto que era menester cavar por las laderas en peña viva para hacer el camino ancho y llano, todo lo qual hacian con fuego y con sus picos; por otras lugares havia subidas tan altas y asperas, que hacian desde lo bajo escalones para poder subir por ellos á lo mas alto, haciendo entre medias de ellos algunos descansos anchos para el reposo de la gente; en otros lugares havia montones de nieve que eran mas de temer, y estos no en un lugar sino en muchas partes, y no asi

como quiera sino que no bá ponderado ni encarecido como ello és, ni como lo bemos, y por estas nieves y por donde havia montañas, de arboles y cespedes lo hacian llano y empedrado si menester fuese. Los que leyeren este Libro y hubieren estado en el Peru, miren el Camino que bá desde Lima á Xauxa por las Sierras tan asperas de Guayacoire y por las montañas nevadas de Pavacaca, y entenderán los que á ellos lo oyeren si es mas lo que ellos vieren que no lo que yo escrivo.

No. III.—See vol. i. p. 87

POLICY OBSERVED BY THE INCAS IN THEIR CONQUESTS; TAKEN FROM SARMIENTO'S RELACION, MS.

Una de las cosas de que mas se tiene embidia á estos Señores, és entender quan bien supieron conquistar tan grandes tierras y ponerlas con su prudencia en tanta razon como los Españoles las hallaron quando por ellos fué descubierto este Reyno, y de que esto sea asi muchas vezes me acuerdo yo estando en alguna Provincia indomita fuera de estos Reynos oir luego á los mesmos Españoles yo aseguro que si los Yngas anduvieran por aqui que otra cosa fuera esto, es decir no conquistaran los Yngas esto como lo otro porque supieran servir y tributar, por manera que quanto á esto, conozida está la ventaja que nos hacen pues con su orden las gentes vivian con ella y crecian en multiplicacion, y de las Provincias esteriles hacian fertiles y abundantes en tanta manera y por tan galana orden como se dirá, siempre procuraron de hacer por bien las cosas y no por mal en el comienzo de los negocios, despues algunos Yngas

hicieron grandes castigos en muchas partes, pero antes todos afirman que fue grande con la benevolencia y amicicia que procuraban el atraer á su servicio estas gentes, ellos salian del Cuzco con su gente y aparato de guerra y caminaban con gran concierto hasta cerca de donde havian de ir, y querian conquistar, donde muy bastantemente se informaban del poder que tenian los enemigos y de las ayudas que podrian tener y de que parte les podrian venir favores y por que Camino, y esto entendido por ellos, procuraban por las vias á ellos posibles estorvar que no fuesen socorridos ora con dones grandes que hacian ora con resistencias que ponian, entendiendo sin esto de mandar hacer sus fuertes, los quales eran en Cerro ó ladera hechos en ellos ciertas Cercas altas y largas, con su puerta cada una, porque perdida la una pudiesen pasarse a la otra y de la otra hasta lo mas alto, y embiaban esanchas de los Confederados para marcar la tierra y ver los caminos y conocer del arte q^{e} estaban aguardando y por donde havia mas mantenimiento, saviendo por el camino que havian de llevar y la orden con que havian de ir, embiabales mensageros propios con los quales les embiaba á decir, que él los queria tener por parientes y aliados, por tanto que con buen animo y corazon alegre se saliesen á lo recevir y recevirlo en su Provincia, para que en ella le sea dada la obediencia como en las demas, y porq^{e} lo hagan con voluntad, embiaba presentes á los Señores naturales, y con esto y con otras buenas maneras que tenia entraron en muchas tierras sin guerra, en las quales mandaban á la gente de guerra que con él iba que no hiciesen daño ni injuria ninguna ni robo ni fuerza, y si en tal Provincia no havia mantenimiento mandaba que de otra parte se proveyese, porque á los nuebamente venidos á su servicio no les pareciese desde luego pesado su mando y conocimiento, y el conocerle y aborrecerle fuese en un tiempo, y si en alguna de estas Provincias no havia ganado

mandaba luego que les diese por quenta tantas mil Cavezas, lo qual mandaban que mirasen mucho y con ello multiplicasen para proberse de Lana para sus Ropas, y que no fuesen osados de comer ni matar ninguna cria por los años y tiempo que les señalaba, y si havia ganado y tenian de otra cosa falta era lo mismo, y si estaban en Collados y arenales bien les hacian entender con buenas palabras que hiciesen Pueblos y Casas en lo mas llano de las Sierras y laderas, y como muchos no eran diestros en cultibar las tierras abecavanles como lo havian de hacer imponiendoles en que supiesen sacar acequias y regar con ellas los Campos, en todo los havian de proveer tan concertadamente que quando entraba por amistad alguno de los Yngas en Provincias de estas, en brebe tiempo quedaba tal que parecia otra y los naturales le daban la obediencia consintiendo que sus delegados quedasen en ellos, y lo mismo los Mitimaes; en otras muchas que entraron de guerra y por fuerza de armas mandabase que en los mantenimientos y Casas de los enemigos se hiciese poco daño, diciendoles el Señor, presto serán estos nuestros como los que ya lo son; como esto tenian conocido, procuraban q̃ la guerra fuese la mas liviana que ser pudiese, no embargante que en muchos lugares se dieron grandes batallas, porque todavia los naturales de ellos querian conservarse en la livertad antigua sin perder sus costumbres y Religion por tomar otras estrañas, mas durando la guerra siempre havian los Yngas lo mejor, y vencidos no los destruian de nuebo, antes mandaban restituhir los Presos si algunos havia y el despojo y ponerlos en posesion de sus haciendas y señorio, amonestandoles que no quieran ser locos en tener contra su Persona Real competencias ni dejar su amistad, antes querian ser sus amigos como lo son los Comarcanos suyos, y diciendoles esto, dabanles algunas mugeres hermosas y presas ricas de Lana ó de metal de oro, con estas dadivas y buenas palabras havia las voluntades de todos, de tal manera que sin ningun

temor los huidos á los montes se bolvian á sus Casas y todos dejaban las armas y el que mas veces veia al Ynga se tenia por mas bien aventurado y dichoso. Los señorios nunca los tiraban á los naturales, á todos mandaban unos y otros que por Dios adorasen el Sol; sus demas religiones y costumbres no se las prohivian, pero mandabanles que se governasen por las Leyes y costumbres que se governaban en el Cuzco y que todos hablasen en la Lengua general, y puesto Governador por el Señor con guarniciones de gente de guerra, parten para lo de adelante; y si estas Provincias eran grandes, luego se entendia en edificar un Templo del Sol y colocar las mugeres que ponian en los demas y hacer Palacios para los Señores, y cobraban para los tributos que havian de pagar sin llevarles nada demasiado ni agraviarles en cosa ninguna, encaminandoles en su policia y en que supiesen hacer edificios y traer ropas largas y vivir concertadamente en sus Pueblos, a los quales si algo les faltaba de que tubiesen necesidad eran provehidos y enseñados como lo havian de sembrar y beneficiar, de tal manera se hacia esto que sabemos en muchos Lugares que no havia maiz tenello despues sobrado, y en todo lo demas andaban como salvages mal vestidos y descalsos, y desde que conocieron á estos Señores usaron de Camisetas lares y mantas y las mugeres lo mismo y de otras buenas cosas, tanto que para siempre habra memoria de todo ello; y en el Collao y en otras partes mandó pasar Mitimaes á la Sierra de los Andes para que sembrasen maiz y coca y otras frutas y raizes de todos los Pueblos la cantidad combeniente, los quales con sus mugeres vivian siempre en aquella parte donde sembraban y cojian tanto de lo que digo que se sentia poco la falta por traer mucho de estas partes y no haver Pueblo ninguno por pequeño que fuese que no tubiese de estos Mitimaes. Adelante trataremos quantas suertes havia de estos Mitimaes y hacian los unos y entendian los otros.

No. IV.—See vol. i. p. 190

EXTRACT FROM THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF MANCIO SIERRA LEJESEMA, MS.

[The following is the preamble of the testament of a soldier of the Conquest, named Lejesema. It is in the nature of a death-bed confession, and seems intended to relieve the writer's mind, who sought to expiate his own sins by this sincere though tardy tribute to the merits of the vanquished. As the work in which it appears is rarely to be met with, I have extracted the whole of the preamble.]

Verdadera confesion y protestacion en articulo de muerte hecha por uno de los primeros españoles conquistadores del Peru, nombrado Mancio Sierra Lejesema, con su testamento otorgado en la ciudad del Cuzco el dia 15 de Setiembre de 1589 ante Geronimo Sanchez de Quesada escribano publico: la qual la trae el P. Fr. Antonio Calancha del orden de hermitanos de San Augustin en la cronica de su religion en el lib. 1, cap. 15, folio 98, y es del tenor siguiente:

" Primeramente antes de empezar dicho mi testamento, declaro que ha muchos años que yo he deseado tener orden de advertir a la Catolica Majestad del Rey Don Felipe, nuestro Señor, viendo cuan catolico y cristianisimo es, y cuan zeloso del servicio de Dios nuestro Señor, por lo que toca al descargo de mi anima, à causa de haber sido yo mucho parte en descubrimiento, conquista, y poblacion de estos Reynos, cuando los quitamos á los que eran Señores Ingas, y los posеian, y regian como suyos propios, y los pusimos debajo de la real corona, que entienda su Majestad Catolica que los dichos Ingas los tenian gober-

nados de tal manera, que en todos ellos no habia un Ladron ni hombre vicioso, ni hombre holgazán, ni una muger adúltera ni mala; ni se permitia entre ellos ni gente de mal vivir en lo moral; que los hombres tenian sus ocupaciones honestas y provechosas; y que los montes y minas, pastos, caza y madera, y todo genero de aprovechamientos estaba gobernado y repartido de suerte que cada uno conocia y tenia su hacienda sin que otro ninguno se la ocupase ò tomase, ni sobre ello habian pleytos; y que las cosas de guerra, aunque eran muchas, no impedian à las del Comercio, ni estas a las cosas de labranza, ò cultivar de las tierras, ni otra cosa alguna, y que en todo, desde lo mayor hasta lo mas menudo, tenia su orden y concierto con mucho acierto; y que los Ingas eran tenidos y obecidos y respetados de sus subditos como gente muy capaz y de mucho Gobierno, y que lo mismo eran sus Gobernadores y Capitanes, y que como en estos hallamos la fuerza y el mando y la resistencia para poderlos sugetar é oprimir al servicio de Dios nuestro Señor y quitarles su tierra y ponerla debaxo de la real corona, fue necesario quitarles totalmente el poder y mando y los bienes, como se los quitamos á fuerza de armas: y que mediante haberlo permitido Dios nuestro Señor nos fue posible sujetar este reyno de tanta multitud de gente y riqueza, y de Señores los hicimos Siervos tan sujetos, como se ve: y que entienda su Magestad que el intento que me mueve à hacer esta relacion, es por descargo de mi conciencia, y por hallarme culpado en ello, pues habemos destruido con nuestro mal exemplo gente de tanto gobierno como eran estos naturales, y tan quitados de cometer delitos ni excesos asi hombres como mugeres, tanto por el Indio que tenia cien mil pesos de oro y plata en su casa, y otros indios dejaban abierta y puesta una escoba ò un palo pequeño atravesado en la puerta para señal de que no estaba alli su dueño, y con esto segun su costumbre no podia entrar nadie adentro, ni tomar cosa de las que alli

habia, y cuando ellos vieron que nosotros poniamos puertas y llaves en nuestras casas entendieron que era de miedo de ellos, porque no nos matasen, pero no porque creyesen que ninguno tomase ni hurtase á otro su hacienda; y asi cuando vieron que habia entre nosotros ladrones, y hombres que incitaban á pecado á sus mugeres y hijas nos tubieron en poco, y han venido á tal rotura en ofensa de Dios estos naturales por el mal exemplo que les hemos dado en todo, que aquel extremo de no hacer cosa mala se ha convertido en que hoy ninguna ò pocas hacen buenas, y requieren remedio, y esto toca à su Magestad, para que descargue su conciencia, y se lo advierte, pues no soy parte para mas; y con esto suplico à mi Dios me perdone; y mueveme à decirlo porque soy el postrero que mueve de todos los descubridores y conquistadores, que como es notorio ya no hay ninguno, sino yo solo en este reyno, ni fuera de el, y con esto hago lo que puedo para descargo de mi conciencia."

No. V.—See vol. i. p. 250

TRANSLATION FROM OVIEDO'S HISTORIA GENERAL DE LAS INDIAS, MS., PARTE II., CAP. 23

[This chapter of the gossiping old chronicler describes a conversation between the governor of Tierra Firme and Almagro, at which the writer was present. It is told with much spirit, and is altogether so curious, from the light it throws on the characters of the parties, that I have thought the following translation, which has been prepared for me, might not be uninteresting to the English reader.]

THE INTERVIEW BETWEEN ALMAGRO AND PEDRARIAS, IN WHICH THE LATTER RELINQUISHES HIS SHARE OF THE PROFITS ARISING FROM THE DISCOVERY OF PERU. TRANSLATED FROM OVIEDO, HISTORIA GENERAL, MS., PARTE II., CAP. 23.

In February, 1527, I had some accounts to settle with Pedrarias, and was frequently at his house for the purpose. While there one day, Almagro came in and said to him, "Your Excellency is of course aware that you contracted with Francisco Pizarro, Don Fernando de Luque, the schoolmaster, and myself, to fit out an expedition for the discovery of Peru. You have contributed nothing for the enterprise, while we have sunk both fortune and credit; for our expenses have already amounted to about fifteen thousand *castellanos de oro*. Pizarro and his followers are now in the greatest distress, and require a supply of provisions, with a reinforcement of brave recruits. Unless these are promptly raised, we shall be wholly ruined, and our glorious enterprise, from which the most brilliant results have been justly anticipated, will fall to the ground. An exact account will be kept of our expenses, that each may share the profits of the discovery in proportion to the amount of his contribution towards the outfit. You have connected yourself with us in the adventure, and, from the terms of our contract, have no right to waste our time and involve us in ruin. But if you no longer wish to be a member of the partnership, pay down your share of what has already been advanced, and leave the affair to us."

To this proposal Pedrarias replied with indignation, "One would really think, from the lofty tone you take, that my power was at an end; but, if I have not been degraded from my office, you shall be punished for your insolence. You shall be made to answer for the lives of

the Christians who have perished through Pizarro's obstinacy and your own. A day of reckoning will come for all these disturbances and murders, as you shall see, and that before you leave Panamá."

"I grant," returned Almagro, "that, as there is an almighty Judge, before whose tribunal we must appear, it is proper that all should render account of the living as well as the dead. And, sir, I shall not shrink from doing so, when I have received an account from you, to be immediately sent to Pizarro, of the gratitude which our sovereign, the emperor, has been pleased to express for our services. Pay, if you wish to enjoy the fruits of this enterprise; for you neither sweat nor toil for them, and have not contributed even a third of the sum you promised when the contract was drawn up,—your whole expenditure not exceeding two or three paltry *pesos*. But if you prefer to leave the partnership at once, we will remit one-half of what you owe us, for our past outlays."

Pedrarias, with a bitter smile, replied, "It would not ruin you if you were to give me four thousand *pesos* to dissolve our connection."

"To forward so happy an event," said Almagro, "we will release you from your whole debt, although it may prove our ruin; but we will trust our fortunes in the hand of God."

Although Pedrarias found himself relieved from the debt incurred for the outfit of the expedition, which could not be less than four or five thousand *pesos*, he was not satisfied, but asked, "What more will you give me?"

Almagro, much chagrined, said, "I will give three hundred *pesos*, though I swear by God I have not so much money in the world; but I will borrow it to be rid of such an incubus."

"You must give me two thousand."

"Five hundred is the most I will offer."

"You must pay me more than a thousand."

"A thousand *pesos*, then," cried the captain in a rage, "I will give you, though I do not own them; but I will find sufficient security for their future payment."

Pedrarias declared himself satisfied with this arrangement; and a contract was accordingly drawn up, in which it was agreed that, on the receipt of a thousand *pesos*, the governor should abandon the partnership and give up his share in the profits of the expedition. I was one of the witnesses who signed this instrument, in which Pedrarias released and assigned over all his interest in Peru to Almagro and his associates,—by this act deserting the enterprise, and, by his littleness of soul, forfeiting the rich treasures which it is well known he might have acquired from the golden empire of the Incas.

No. VI.—See vol. i. p. 254

CONTRACT BETWEEN PIZARRO, ALMAGRO, AND LUQUE; EXTRACTED FROM MONTESINOS, ANNALES, MS., AÑO 1526

[This memorable contract between three adventurers for the discovery and partition of an empire is to be found entire in the manuscript history of Montesinos, whose work derives more value from the insertion in it of this and of other original documents than from any merit of its own. This instrument, which may be considered as the basis of the operations of Pizarro, seems to form a neccessary appendage to a history of the Conquest of Peru.]

En el nombre de la santisima Trinidad, Padre, Hijo y Espíritu-Santo, tres personas distintas y un solo Dios verdadero, y de la santísima Vírgen nuestra Señora, hacemos esta compañía.—

Sepan cuantos esta carta de compañía vieren como yo don Fernando de Luque, clérigo presbítero, vicario de la santa iglesia de Panamá, de la una parte; y de la otra el capitan Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro, vecinos que somos en esta ciudad de Panamá, decimos: que somos concertados y convenidos de hacer y formar compañia la cual sea firme y valedera para siempre jamas en esta manera:—Que por cuanto nos los dichos capitan Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro, tenemos licencia del señor gobernador Pedro Arias de Avila para descubrir y conquistar las tierras y provincias de los reinos llamados del Peru, que está, por noticia que hay, pasado el golfo y travesía del mar de la otra parte; y porque para hacer la dicha conquista y jornada y navios y gente y bastimento y otras cosas que son necesarias, no lo podemos hacer por no tener dinero y posibilidad tanta cuenta es menester: y vos el dicho don Fernando de Luque nos los dais porque esta compañia la hagamos por iguales partes: somos contentos y convenidos de que todos tres hermanablemente, sin que hagan de haber ventaja ninguna mas el uno que el otro, ni el otro que el otro de todo lo que se descubriere, ganare y conquistare, y poblar en los dichos reinos y provincias del Perú. Y por cuanto vos el dicho D. Fernando de Luque nos disteis, y poneis de puesto por vuestra parte en esta dicha compañia para gastos de la armada y gente que se hace para la dicha jornada y conquista del dicho reino del Perú, veinte mil pesos en barras de oro y de á cuatrocientos y cincuenta maravedis el peso, los cuales los recibimos luego en las dichas barras de oro que pasaron de vuestro poder al nuestro en presencia del escribano de esta carta, que lo valió y monto; y yo Hernando del Castillo doy fé que

los vide pesar los dichos veinte mil pesos en las dichas barras de oro y lo recibieron en mi presencia los dichos capitan Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro, y se dieron por contentos y pagados de ella. Y nos los dichos capitan Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro ponemos de nuestra parte en esta dicha compañia la merced que tenemos del dicho señor gobernador, y que la dicha conquista y reino que descubriremos de la tierra del dicho Perú, que en nombre de S. M. nos ha hecho, y las demas mercedes que nos hiciere y acrescentare S. M., y los de su consejo de las Indias de aqui adelante, para que de todo goceis y hayais vuestra tercera parte, sin que en cosa alguna hayamos de tener mas parte cada uno de nos, el uno que el otro, sino que hayamos de todo ello partes iguales. Y mas ponemos en esta dicha compañia nuestras personas y el haber de hacer la dicha conquista y descubrimiento con asistir con ellas en la guerra todo el tiempo que se tardare en conquistar y ganar y poblar el dicho reino del Perú, sin que por ello hayamos de llevar ninguno ventaja y parte mas de la que vos el dicho don Fernando de Luque llevaredes, que ha de ser por iguales partes todos tres, asi de los aprovechamientos que con nuestras personas tuvieremos, y ventajas de las partes que nos cupieren en la guerra y en los despojos y ganancias y suertes que en la dicha tierra del Perú hubiéremos y gozáremos, y nos cupieren por cualquier via y forma que sea, asi á mi el dicho capitan Francisco Pizarro como á mi Diego de Almagro, habeis de haber de todo ello, y es vuestro, y os lo daremos bien y fielmente, sin desfraudaros en cosa alguna de ella, la tercera parte, porque desde ahora en lo que Dios nuestro Señor nos diere, decimos y confesamos que es vuestro y de vuestros herederos y succesores, de quien en esta dicha compañia succediere y lo hubiere de haber, en vuestro nombre se lo daremos, y le daremos cuenta de todo ello á vos, y á vuestros succesores, quieta y pacificamente, sin llevar mas parte cada uno de

nos, que vos el dicho don Fernando de Luque, y quien vuestro poder hubiere y le perteneciere; y asi de cualquier dictado y estado de señorio perpetuo, ó por tiempo señalado que S. M. nos hiciere merced en el dicho reino del Perú, así á mí el dicho capitan Francisco Pizarro, ó á mí el dicho Diego de Almagro, ó á cualquiera de nos, sea vuestro el tercio de toda la renta y estado y vasallos que á cada uno de nos se nos diere y hiciere merced en cualquiera manera ó forma que sea en el dicho reino del Perú por via de estado, ó renta, repartimiento de indios, situaciones, vasallos, seais señor y goceis de la tercia parte de ello como nosotros mismos, sin adicion ni condicion ninguna, y si la hubiere y alegáremos, yo el dicho capitan Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro, y en nuestros nombres nuestros herederos, que no seamos oidos en juicio ni fuera dél, y nos damos por condenados en todo y por todo como en esta escriptura se contiene para lo pagar y que haya efecto; y yo el dicho D. Fernando de Luque hago la dicha compañia en la forma y manera que de suso está declarado, y doy los veinte mil pesos de buen oro para el dicho descubrimiento y conquista del dicho reino del Perú, á perdida ó ganancia, como Dios nuestro Señor sea servido, y de lo sucedido en el dicho descubrimiento de la dicha gobernacion y tierra, he yo de gozar y haber la tercera parte, y la otra tercera para el capitan Francisco Pizarro y la otra tercera para Diego de Almagro, sin que el uno lleve mas que el otro, asi de estado de señor, como de repartimiento de indios perpétuos, como de tierras y solares y heredades; como de tesoros, y escondijos encubiertos, como de cualquier riqueza ó aprovechamiento de oro, plata, perlas, esmeraldas, diamantes y rubíes, y de cualquier estado y condicion que sea, que los dichos capitan Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro hayais y tengais en el dicho reino del Perú, me habeis de dar la tercera parte. Y nos el dicho capitan Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro decimos que

aceptamos la dicha compañia y la hacemos con el dicho don Fernando de Luque de la forma y manera que lo pide él, y lo declara para que todos por iguales partes hayamos en todo y por todo, asi de estados perpetuos que S. M. nos hiciese mercedes en vasallos ó indios ó en otras cualesquiera rentas, goce el derecho don Fernando de Luque, y haya la dicha tercia parte de todo ello enteramente, y goce de ello como cosa suya desde el dia que S. M. nos hiciere cualesquiera mercedes como dicho es. Y para mayor verdad y seguridad de esta escriptura de compañia, y de todo lo en ella contenido, y que os acudirémos y pagarémos nos los dichos capitan Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro á vos el dicho Fernando de Luque con la tercia parte de todo lo que se hubiere y descubriere, y nosotros hubiéremos por cualquiera via y forma que sea; para mayor fuerza de que lo cumpliremos como en esta escriptura se contiene, juramos á Dios nuestro Señor y á los Santos Evangelios donde mas largamente son escritos y estan en este libro Misal, donde pusieron sus manos el dicho capitan Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro, hicieron la señal de la cruz en semejanza de esta † con sus dedos de la mano en presencia de mí el presente escribano, y dijeron que guardarán y cumplirán esta dicha compañia y escriptura en todo y por todo, como en ello se contiene, sopena de infames y malos cristianos, y caer en caso de menos valer, y que Dios se lo demande mal y caramente; y dijeron el dicho capitan Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro, amen; y asi lo juramos y le daremos el tercio de todo lo que descubriéremos y conquistáremos y pobláremos en el dicho reino y tierra del Perú, y que goce de ello como nuestras personas, de todo aquello en que fuere nuestro y tuviéremos parte como dicho es en esta dicha escriptura; y nos obligamos de acudir con ello á vos el dicho don Fernando de Luque, y á quien en vuestro nombre le perteneciere y hubiere de haber, y les daremos cuenta con pago de todo ello cada

y cuando que se nos pidiere, hecho el dicho descubrimiento y conquista y poblacion del dicho reino y tierra del Perú; y prometemos que en la dicha conquista y descubrimiento nos ocuparémos y trabajarémos con nuestras personas sin ocuparnos en otra cosa hasta que se conquiste la tierra y se ganáre, y si no lo hiciéremos seamos castigados por todo rigor de justicia por infames y perjuros, seamos obligados á volver á vós el dicho don Fernando de Luque los dichos veinte mil pesos de oro que de vos recibimos. Y para lo cumplir y pagar y haber por firme todo lo en esta escriptura contenido, cada uno por lo que le toca, renunciaron todas y cualesquier leyes y ordenamientos y pramáticas, y otras cualesquier constituciones, ordenanzas que estén fechas en su favor, y cualesquiera de ellos para que aunque las pidan y aleguen, que no les valga. Y valga esta escriptura dicha, y todo lo en ella contenido, y traiga aparejada y debida ejecucion asi en sus personas como en sus bienes, muebles y raices habidos y por haber; y para lo cumplir y pagar, cada uno por lo que le toca, obligaron sus personas y bienes habidos y por haber segun dicho es, y dieron poder cumplido á cualesquier justicias y jueces de S. M. para que por todo rigor y mas breve remedio de derecho les compelan y apremien á lo asi cumplir y pagar, como si lo que dicho es fuese sentencia definitiva de juez competente pasada en cosa juzgada; y renunciaron cualesquier leyes y derechos que en su favor hablan, especialmente la ley que dice: Que general renunciacion de leyes no vala: Que es fecha en la ciudad de Panamá á diez dias del mes de marzo, año del nacimiento de nuestro Salvador Jesu-cristo de mil quinientos veinte y seis años: testigos que fueron presentes á lo que dicho es Juan de Panés, y Alvaro del Quiro y Juan de Vallejo, vecinos de la ciudad de Panamá, y firmó el dicho D. Fernando de Luque; y porque no saben firmar el dicho capitan Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro, firmaron por ellos en el registro de

esta carta Juan de Panés y Alvaro del Quiro, á los cuales otorgantes yo el presente escribano doy fé que conozco. Don Fernando de Luque.—A su ruego de Francisco Pizarro—Juan de Panés: y á su ruego de Diego de Almagro—Alvaro del Quiro: E yo Hernando del Castillo, escribano de S. M. y escribano publico y del numero de esta ciudad de Panamá, presente fui al otorgamiento de esta carta, y la fice escribir en estas cuatro fojas con esta, y por ende fice aquí este me signo á tal en testimonio de verdad. Hernando del Castillo, escribano publico.

No. VII.—See vol. i. p. 229; vol. ii. p. 10

CAPITULATION MADE BY FRANCISCO PIZARRO WITH THE QUEEN, MS., DATED TOLEDO, JULY 26, 1529

[For a copy of this document I am indebted to Don Martin Fernandez de Navarete, late Director of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid. Though sufficiently long, it is of no less importance than the preceding contract, forming, like that, the foundation on which the enterprise of Pizarro and his associates may be said to have rested.]

La Reina:—Por cuanto vos el capitan Francisco Pizarro, vecino de Tierra firme, llamada Castilla del Oro, por vos y en nombre del venerable padre D. Fernando de Luque, maestre escuela y provisor de la iglesia del Darien, *sede vacante*, que es en la dicha Castilla del Oro, y el capitan Diego de Almagro, vecino de la ciudad de Panamá,

nos hicísteis relacion, que vos e los dichos vuestros compañeros con deseo de nos servir e del bien e acrecentamiento de nuestra corona real, puede haber cinco años, poco mas o menos, que con licencia e parecer de Pedrarias Dávila, nuestro gobernador e capitan general que fue de la dicha Tierra firme, tomastes cargo de ir a conquistar, descubrir e pacificar e poblar la costa del mar del Sur, de la dicha tierra a la parte de Levante, a vuestra costa e de los dichos vuestros compañeros, todo lo mas que por aquella parte pudiéredes, e hicísteis para ello dos navíos e un bergantin en la dicha costa, en que asi en esto por se haber de pasar la jarcia e aparejos necesarios al dicho viaje e armada desde el Nombre de Dios, que es la costa del Norte, a la otra costa del Sur, como con la gente e otras cosas necesarias al dicho viaje, e tornar a rehacer la dicha armada, gastásteis mucha suma de pesos de oro, e fuistes a hacer e hicísteis el dicho descubrimiento, donde pasastes muchos peligros e trabajo, a causa de lo cual os dejó toda la gente que con vos iba en una isla despoblada con solos trece hombres que no vos quisieron dejar, y que con ellos y con el socorro que de navíos e gente vos hizo el dicho capitan Diego de Almagro, pasastes de la dicha isla e descubristes las tierras e provincias del Pirú e ciudad de Tumbes, en que haber gastado vos e los dichos vuestros compañeros mas de treinta mil pesos de oro, e que con el deseo que teneis de nos servir querríades continuar la dicha conquista e poblacion a vuestra costa e mision, sin que en ningun tiempo seamos obligados a vos pagar ni satisfacer los gastos que en ello hiciéredes, mas de lo que en esta capitulacion vos fuese otorgado, e me suplicasteis e pedistes por merced vos mandase encomendar la conquista de las dichas tierras, e vos concediese e otorgase las mercedes, e con las condiciones que de suso serán contenidas; sobre lo cual yo mandé tomar con vos el asiento y capitulacion siguiente.

Primeramente doy licencia y facultad a vos el dicho

capitan Francisco Pizarro, para que por nos y en nuestro nombre e de la corona real de Castilla, podais continuar el dicho descubrimiento, conquista y poblacion de la dicha provincia del Perú, fasta ducientas leguas de tierra por la misma costa, las cuales dichas ducientas leguas comienzan desde el pueblo que en lengua de indios se dice Tenumpuela, e despues, le llamásteis Santiago, hasta llegar al pueblo de Chincha, que puede haber las dichas ducientas leguas de costa, poco mas o menos.

Item: Entendiendo ser cumplidero al servicio de Dios nuestro Señor y nuestro, y por honrar vuestra persona, e por vos hacer merced, prometemos de vos hacer nuestro gobernador e capitan general de toda la dicha provincia del Pirú, e tierras y pueblos que al presente hay e adelante hubiere en todas las dichas ducientas leguas, por todos los dias de vuestra vida, con salario de setecientos e veinte y cinco mill maravedís cada año, contados desde el dia que vos hiciésedes a la vela destos nuestros reinos para continuar la dicha poblacion e conquista, los cuales vos han de ser pagados de las rentas y derechos a nos pertenecientes en la dicha tierra que ansi habeis de poblar; del cual salario habeis de pagar en cada un año un alcalde mayor, diez escuderos, e treinta peones, e un médico, e un boticario, el cual salario vos ha de ser pagado por los nuestros oficiales de la dicha tierra.

Otrosi: Vos hacemos merced de título de nuestro Adelantado de la dicha provincia del Perú, e ansimismo del oficio de alguacil mayor della, todo ello por los dias de vuestra vida.

Otrosi: Vos doy licencia para que con parecer y acuerdo de los dichos nuestros oficiales podais hacer en las dichas tierras e provincias del Perú, hasta cuatro fortalezas, en las partes y lugares que mas convengan, paresciendo a vos e a los dichos nuestros oficiales ser necesarias para guarda e pacificacion de la dicha tierra, e vos haré merced de las tenencias dellas, para vos, e para los here-

deros, e subcesores vuestros, uno en pos de otro, con salario de sententa y cinco mill maravedís en cada un año por cada una de las dichas fortalezas, que ansi estuvieren hechas, las cuales habeis de hacer a vuestra costa, sin que nos, ni los reyes que despues de nos vinieren, seamos obligados a vos lo pagar al tiempo que asi lo gastáredes, salvo dende en cinco años despues de acabada la fortaleza, pagándoos en cada un año de los dichos cincos años la quinta parte de lo que se montare el dicho gasto, de los frutos de la dicha tierra.

Otrosi: Vos hacemos merced para ayuda a vuestra costa de mill ducados en cada un año por los dias de vuestra vida de las rentas de las dichas tierras.

Otrosi: Es nuestra merced, acatando la buena vida e doctrina de la persona del dicho don Fernando de Luque de le presentar a nuestro muy Sancto Padre por obispo de la ciudad de Tumbes, que es en la dicha provincia y gobernacion del Perú, con límites e diciones que por nos con autoridad apostólica serán señalados; y entretanto que vienen las bulas del dicho obispado, le hacemos protector universal de todos los indios de dicha provincia, con salario de mill ducados en cada un año, pagado de nuestras rentas de la dicha tierra, entretanto que hay diezmos eclesiásticos de que se queda pagar.

Otrosi: Por cuanto nos habedes suplicado por vos en el dicho nombre vos hiciese merced de algunos vasallos en las dichas tierras, e al presente lo dejamos de hacer por no tener entera relacion de ellas, es nuestra merced que, entretanto que informados proveamos en ello lo que a nuestro servicio e a la enmienda e satisfaccion de vuestros trabajos e servicios conviene, tengais la veintena parte de los pechos que nos tuviéremos en cada un año en la dicha tierra, con tanto que no exceda de mill y quinientos ducados, los mill para vos el dicho capitan Pizarro, e los quinientos para el dicho Diego de Almagro.

Otrosi: Hacemos merced al dicho capitan Diego de

Almagro de la tenencia de la fortaleza que hay u obiere en la dicha ciudad de Tumbes, que es en la dicha provincia del Perú, con salario de cien mill maravedís cada un año, con mas ducientos mil maravedís cada un año de ayuda de costa, todo pagado de las rentas de la dicha tierra, de las cuales ha de gozar desde el dia que vos el dicho Francisco Pizarro llegáredes a la dicha tierra, aunque el dicho capitan Almagro se quede en Panamá, e en otra parte que le convenga; e le haremos home hijodalgo, para que goce de las honras e preminencias que los homes hijodalgo pueden y deben gozar en todas las Indias, islas e tierra firme del mar Océano.

Otrosi: Mandamos que las dichas haciendas, e tierras, e solares que teneis en tierra firme, llamada Castilla del Oro, e vos estan dadas como a vecino de ella, las tengais e goceis, e hagais de ello lo que quisiéredes e por bien tuviéredes, conforme a lo que tenemos concedido y otorgado a los vecinos de la dicha tierra firme; e en lo que toca a los indios e naborias que teneis e vos estan encomendados, es nuestra merced e voluntad e mandamos que los tengais e goceis e sirvais de ellos, e que no vos serán quitados ni removidos por el tiempo que nuestra voluntad fuere.

Otrosi: Concedemos a los que fueren a poblar la dicha tierra que en los seis años primeros siguientes desde el dia de la data de esta en adelante, que del oro que se cogiere de las minas nos paguen el diezmo, y cumplidos los dichos seis años paguen el noveno, e ansi decendiendo en cada un año hasta llegar al quinto: pero del oro e otras cosas que se obieren de rescatar, o cabalgadas, o en otra cualquier manera, desde luego nos han de pagar al quinto de todo ello.

Otrosi: Franqueamos a los vecinos de la dicha tierra por los dichos seis años, y mas, y cuanto fuere nuestra voluntad, de almojarifazgo de todo lo que llevaren para proveimiento e provision de sus casas, con tanto que no sea para lo vender; e de lo que vendieren ellos, e otras

cualesquier personas, mercaderes e tratantes, ansimismo los franqueamos por dos años tan solamente.

Item: Prometemos que por término de diez años, e mas adelante hasta que otra cosa mandemos en contrario, no impornemos a los vecinos de las dichas tierras alcabalas ni otro tributo alguno.

Item: Concedemos a los dichos vecinos e poblardores que les sean dados por vos los solares y tierras convenientes a sus personas, conforme a lo que se ha hecho e hace en la dicha isla Española; e ansimismo os daremos poder para que en nuestro nombre, durante el tiempo de vuestra gobernacion, hagais la encomienda de los indios de la dicha tierra, guardando en ella las instrucciones e ordenanzas que vos serán dadas.

Item: A suplicacion vuestra hacemos nuestro piloto mayor de la mar del Sur a Bartolomé Ruiz, con setenta y cinco mill maravedís de salario en cada un año, pagados de la renta de la dicha tierra, de los cuales ha de gozar desde el dia que le fuere entregado el título que de ello le mandaremos dar, e en las espaldas se asentará el juramento e solenidad que ha de hacer ante vos, e otorgado ante escribano. Ansimismo daremos título de escribano de número e del consejo de la dicha ciudad de Tumbes, a un hijo de dicho Bartolomé Ruiz, siendo habil e suficiente para ello.

Otrosi: Somos contentos e nos place que vos el dicho capitan Pizarro, cuanto nuestra merced e voluntad fuere, tengais la gobernacion e administracion de los indios de la nuestra isla de Flores, que es cerca de Panamá, e goceis para vos e para quien vos quisiéredes, de todos los aprovechamientos que hobiere en la dicha isla, asi de tierras como de solares, e montes, e árboles, e mineros, e pesquería de perlas, con tanto que seais obligado por razon de ello a dar a nos e a los nuestros oficiales de Castilla del Oro en cada un año de los que ansi fuere nuestra voluntad que vos la tengais, ducientos mill maravedís, e mas el

quinto de todo el oro e perlas que en cualquier manera e por cualesquier personas se sacare en la dicha isla de Flores, sin descuento alguno, con tanto que los dichos indios de la dicha isla de Flores no los podais ocupar en la pesquería de las perlas, ni en las minas del oro, ni en otros metales, sino en las otras granjerías e aprovechamientos de la dicha tierra, para provision e mantenimiento de la dicha vuestra armada, e de las que adelante obiéredes de hacer para la dicha tierra; e permitimos que si vos el dicho Francisco Pizarro llegado a Castilla del Oro, dentro de dos meses luego siguientes, declarades ante el dicho nuestro gobernador e juez de residencia que alli estuviere, que no vos querais encargar de la dicha isla de Flores, que en tal caso no seais tenudo e obligado a nos pagar por razon de ello las dichas ducientas mill maravedís, e que se quede para nos la dicha isla, como agora la tenemos.

Item: Acatando lo mucho que han servido en el dicho viaje e descubrimiento Bartolomé Ruiz, Cristoval de Peralta, e Pedro de Candia, e Domingo de Soria Luce, e Nicolas de Ribera, e Francisco de Cuellar, e Alonso de Molina, e Pedro Alcon, e García de Jerez, e Anton de Carrion, e Alonso Briceño, e Martin de Paz, e Joan de la Torre, e porque vos me lo suplicásteis e pedistes por merced, es nuestra merced e voluntad de les hacer merced, como por la presente vos la hacemos a los que de ellos no son idalgos, que sean idalgos notorios de solar conocido en aquellas partes, e que en ellas e en todas las nuestras Indias, islas y tierra firme del mar Océano, gocen de las pre-eminencias e libertades, e otras cosas de que gozan, y deben ser guardadas a los hijosdalgo notorios de solar conocido dentro nuestros reinos, e a los que de los susodichos son idalgos, que sean caballeros de espuelas doradas, dando primero la informacion que en tal caso se requiere.

Item: Vos hacemos merced de veinte y cinco veguas e otros tantos caballos de los que nos tenemos en la isla de Jamaica, e no las abiendo cuando las pidiéredes, no seamos

tenudos al precio de ellas, ni de otra cosa por razon de ellas.

Otrosi: Os hacemos merced de trescientos mill maravedís pagados en Castilla del Oro para el artillería e municion que habeis de llevar a la dicha provincia del Perú, llevando fe de los nuestros oficiales de la casa de Sevilla de las cosas que ansi comprastes, e de lo que vos costó, contando el interese e cambio de ello, e mas os haré merced de otros ducientos ducados pagados en Castilla del Oro para ayuda al acarreto de la dicha artillería e municiones e otras cosas vuestras desde el Nombre de Dios so la dicha mar del Sur.

Otrosi: Vos daremos licencia, como por la presente vos la damos, para que destos nuestros reinos, e del reino de Portugal e islas de Cabo Verde, e dende, vos, e quien vuestro poder hubiere, quisiéredes e por bien tuviéredes, podais pasar e paseis a la dicha tierra de vuestra gobernacion cincuenta esclavos negros en que haya a lo menos el tercio de hembras, libres de todos derechos a nos pertenecientes, con tanto que si los dejáredes e parte de ellos en la isla Española, San Joan, Cuba, Santiago e en Castilla del Oro, e en otra parte alguna los que de ellos ansi dejáredes, sean perdidos e aplicados, e por la presente los aplicamos a nuestra cámara e fisco.

Otrosi: Que hacemos merced y limosna al hospital que se hiciese en la dicha tierra, para ayuda al remedio de los pobres que allá fueren, de cien mill maravedís librados en las penas aplicadas de la cámara de la dicha tierra. Ansimismo a vuestro pedimento e consentimiento de los primeros pobladores de la dicha tierra, decimos que haremos merced, como por la presente la hacemos, á los hospitales de la dicha tierra de los derechos de la escubilla e relaves que hubiere en las fundiciones que en ella se hicieren, e de ello mandaremos dar nuestra provision en forma.

Otrosi: Decimos que mandaremos, e por la presente mandamos, que hayan e residan en la ciudad de Panamá,

e donde vos fuere mandado, un carpintero e un calafate, e cada uno de ellos tenga de salario treinta mill maravedís en cada un año dende que comenzaren a residir en la dicha ciudad, o donde, como dicho es, vos les mandáredes; a los cuales les mandaremos pagar por los nuestros oficiales de la dicha tierra de vuestra gobernacion cuando nuestra merced y voluntad fuere.

Item: Que vos mandaremos dar nuestra provision en forma para que en la dicha costa del mar del Sur podais tomar cualesquier navíos que hubiéredes menester, de consentimiento de sus dueños, para los viajes que hobiéredes de hacer a la dicha tierra, pagando a los dueños de los tales navíos el flete que justo sea, no embargante que otras personas los tengan fletados para otras partes.

Ansimismo que mandaremos, e por la presente mandamos e defendemos, que destos nuestros reinos no vayan ni pasen a las dichas tierras ningunas personas de las prohibidas que no puedan pasar a aquellas partes, so las penas contenidas en las leyes e ordenanzas e cartas nuestras, que cerca de esto por nos e por los reyes católicos están dadas; ni letrados ni procuradores para usar de sus oficios.

Lo cual que dicho es, e cada cosa e parte de ello vos concedemos, con tanto que vos el dicho capitan Pizarro seais tenudo e obligado de salir destos nuestros reinos con los navíos e aparejos e mantenimientos e otras cosas que fueren menester para el dicho viaje y poblacion, con ducientos e cincuenta hombres, los ciento y cincuenta destos nuestros reinos e otras partes no prohibidas, e los ciento restantes podais llevar de las islas e tierra firme del mar Océano, con tanto que de la dicha tierra firme llamada Castilla del Oro no saqueis mas de veinte hombres, sino fuere de los que en el primero e segundo viaje que vos hicísteis a la dicha tierra del Perú se hallaron con vos, porque a estos damos licencia que puedan ir con vos libremente; lo cual hayais de cumplir desde el dia de la data

de esta hasta seis meses primeros siguientes: allegado a la dicha Castilla del Oro, e allegado a Panamá, seais tenudo de proseguir el dicho viaje, e hacer el dicho descubrimiento e poblacion dentro de otros seis meses luego siguientes.

Item: Con condicion que cuando saliéredes destos nuestros reinos e llegáredes a las dichas provincias del Perú hayais de llevar y tener con vos a los oficiales de nuestra hacienda, que por nos estan e fueren nombrados; e asimismo las personas religiosas o eclesiásticas que por nos serán señaladas para instruccion de los indios e naturales de aquella provincia a nuestra santa fé católica, con cuyo parecer e no sin ellos habeis de hacer la conquista, descubrimiento e poblacion de la dicha tierras; a los cuales religiosos habeis de dar e pagar el flete e matalotaje, e los otros mantenimientos necesarios conforme a sus personas, todo a vuestra costa, sin por ello les llevar cosa alguna durante la dicha navegacion, lo cual mucho vos lo encargamos que ansi hagais e cumplais, como cosa de servicio de Dios e nuestro, porque de lo contrario nos terníamos de vos por deservidos.

Otrosi: Con condicion que en la dicha pacificacion, conquista y poblacion e tratamiento de los dichos indios en sus personas y bienes, seais tenudos e obligados de guardar en todo e por todo lo contenido en las ordenanzas e instrucciones que para esto tenemos fechas, e se hicieren, e vos seran dadas en la nuestra carta e provision que vos mandaremos dar para la encomienda de los dichos indios. E cumpliendo vos el dicho capitan Francisco Pizarro lo contenido en este asiento, en todo lo que a vos toca e incumbe de guardar e cumplir, prometemos, e vos aseguramos por nuestra palabra real que agora e de aqui adelante vos mandaremos guardar e vos será guardado todo lo que ansi vos concedemos, e facemos merced, a vos e a los pobladores e tratantes en la dicha tierra; e para ejecucion y cumplimiento dello, vos mandaremos dar nuestras cartas e provisiones particulares que convengan e menester sean,

PIZARRO SEIZING THE INCA OF PERU

de esta hasta seis meses primeros siguientes: allegado a la dicha Castilla del Oro, e allegado a Panamá, seais tenudo de proseguir el dicho viaje, e hacer el dicho descubrimiento e poblacion dentro de otros seis meses luego siguientes.

Item: Con condicion que cuando saliéredes destos nuestros reinos e llegáredes a las dichas provincias del Perú hayais de llevar y tener con vos a los oficiales de nuestra hacienda, que por nos estan e fueren nombrados; e asimismo las personas religiosas o eclesiásticas que por nos serán señaladas para instruccion de los indios e naturales de aquella provincia a nuestra santa fé católica, con cuyo [illegible] e no sin ellos habeis de hacer la conquista, descu[illegible] e poblacion de la dicha tierras; a los cuales [illegible] habeis de dar e pagar el flete e matalotaje, e los [illegible] necesarios conforme a sus personas, [illegible] costa, sin por ello les llevar cosa alguna [illegible] dicha navegacion, lo cual mucho vos lo encar[illegible] hagais e cumplais, como cosa de servicio [illegible], porque de lo contrario nos terníamos [illegible] servidos.

[illegible] condicion que en la dicha pacificacion, [illegible] e tratamiento de los dichos indios [illegible] bienes, seais tenudos e obligados de [illegible] todo lo contenido en las ordenanzas [illegible] fechas, e se hicieren, [illegible] carta e provision que vos [illegible] de los dichos indios. [illegible] Francisco Pizarro lo [illegible] que a vos toca e in[illegible] tenemos, e vos asegura[illegible] agora e de aqui adelante [illegible] será guardado todo lo [illegible] merced, a vos e a los [illegible]; e para ejecu[illegible] dar nuestras cartas [illegible] sean,

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obligándoos vos el dicho capitan Pizarro primeramente ante escribano público de guardar e cumplir lo contenido en este asiento que a vos toca como dicho es. Fecha en Toledo a 26 de jullio de 1529 años.—YO LA REINA. —Por mandado de S. M.—Juan Vazquez.

No. VIII.—See vol. ii. p. 116

CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS OF ATAHUALLPA'S SEIZURE

[As the seizure of the Inca was one of the most memorable, as well as foulest, transactions of the Conquest, I have thought it might be well to put on record the testimony, fortunately in my possession, of several of the parties present on the occasion.]

Relacion del primer Descubrimiento de la Costa y Mar del Sur, MS.

A la hora de las cuatro comienzan á caminar por su calzada adelante derecho a donde nosotros estabamos, y á las cinco o poco mas llegó á la puerta de la ciudad, quedando todos los campos cubiertos de gente, y asi comenzaron á entrar por la plaza hasta trescientos hombres como mozos despuelas con sus arcos y flechas en las manos, cantando un cantar no nada gracioso para los que lo oyamos, antes espantoso porque parecia cosa infernal, y dieron una vuelta á aquella mezquita amagando al suelo con las manos á limpiar lo que por el estaba, de lo cual habia poca necesidad, porque los del pueblo le tenian bien barrido para cuando entrase. Acabada de dar su vuelta

pararon todos juntos, y entró otro escuadron de hasta mil hombres con picas sin yerros tostadas las puntas, todos de una librea de colores, digo que la de los primeros era blanca y colorada, como las casas de un axedrez. Entrado el segundo escuadron entró el tercero de otra librea, todos con martillos en las manos de cobre y plata, que es una arma que ellos tienen, y ansi desta manera entraron en la dicha plaza muchos señores principales que venian en medio de los delanteros y de la persona de Atabalipa. Detras destos en una litera muy rica, los cabos de los maderos cubiertos de plata, venia la persona de Atabalipa, la cual traian ochenta señores en hombros todos vestidos de una librea azul muy rica, y él vestido su persona muy ricamente con su corona en la cabeza, y al cuello un collar de esmeraldas grandes y sentado en la litera en una silla muy pequeña con un coxin muy rico. En llegando al medio de la plaza paró, llevando descubierto el medio cuerpo de fuera; y toda la gente de guerra que estaba en la plaza le tenian en medio, estando dentro hasta seis ó siete mil hombres. Como el vió que ninguna persona salia á el, ni parecia, tubo creido, y asi lo confesó el despues de preso, que nos habiamos escondido de miedo de ver su poder; y dió una voz y dixo: Donde estan estos? A la cual salió del apostento del dicho Gobernador Pizarro el Padre Fray Vicente de Valverde de la orden de los Predicadores, que despues fué obispo de aquella tierra, con la bribia en la mano y con él una lengua, y asi juntos llegaron por entre la gente á poder hablar con Atabalipa, al cual le comenzó á decir cosas de la sagrada escriptura, y que nuestro Señor Jesu-Christo mandaba que entre los suyos no hubiese guerra, ni discordia, sino todo paz, y que él en su nombre ansi se lo pedia y requeria; pues habia quedado de tratar della el dia antes, y de venir solo sin gente de guerra. A las cuales palabras y otras muchas que el Frayle le dixo, el estubo callando sin volver respuesta; y tornandole á decir que mirase lo que Dios man-

daba, lo cual estaba en aquel libro que llevaba en la mano escripto, admirandose á mi parecer mas de la escriptura, que de lo escripto en ella; le pidió el libro, y le abrió y ojeó, mirando el molde y la orden dél, y despues de visto, le arrojó por entre la gente con mucha ira, el rostro muy encarnizado, diciendo: Decildes á esos, que vengan acá, que no pasaré de aqui hasta que me dén cuenta y satisfagan y paguen lo que han hecho en la tierra. Visto esto por el Frayle y lo poco que aprovechaban sus palabras, tomó su libro, y abajó su cabeza, y fuese para donde estaba el dicho Pizarro, casi corriendo, y dijole: No veis lo que pasa? para que estais en comedimientos y requerimientos con este perro lleno de soberbia, que vienen los campos llenos de Indios? Salid á el,—que yo os absuelvo. Y ansi acabadas de decir estas palabras que fué todo en un instante, tocan las trompetas, y parte de su posada con toda la gente de pie, que con él estaba, diciendo: Santiago á ellos; y asi salimos todos á aquella voz á una, porque todas aquellas casas que salian á la plaza tenian muchas puertas, y parece que se habian fecho á aquel proposito. En arremetiendo los de caballo y rompiendo por ellos todo fué uno, que sin matar sino solo un negro de nuestra parte, fueron todos desbaratados y Atabalipa preso, y la gente puesta en huida, aunque no pudieron huir del tropel, porque la puerta por dó habian entrado era pequeña y con la turbacion no podian salir; y visto los traseros cuan lejos tenian la acoxida y remedio de huir, arrimaronse dos ó tres mil dellos á un lienso de pared, y dieron con él á tierra, el cual salia al campo, porque por aquella parte no habia casas, y ansi tubieron camino ancho para huir; y los escuadrones de gente que habian quedado en el campo sin entrar en el pueblo, como vieron huir y dar alaridos, los mas dellos fueron desbaratados y se pusieron en huida, que era cosa harto de ver, que un valle de cuatro ó cinco leguas todo iba cuaxado de gente. En este vino la noche muy presto, y la gente se recogió, y Atabalipa

se puso en una casa de piedra, que era el templo del sol, y asi se pasó aquella noche con grand regocijo y placer de la vitoria que nuestro Señor nos habia dado, poniendo mucho recabdo en hacer guardia á la persona de Atabalipa para que no volviesen á tomarnosle. Cierto fué permision de Dios y grand acertamiento guiado por su mano, porque si este dia no se prendiera, con la soberbia que trahia, aquella noche fueramos todos asolados por ser tan pocos, como tengo dicho, y ellos tantos.

Pedro Pizarro, Descubrimiento y Conquista de los Reynos del Peru, MS.

Pues despues de aver comido, que acavaria á hora de missa mayor, enpeço á levantar su gente y á venirse hazia Caxamalca. Hechos sus esquadrones, que cubrian los campos, y el metido en vnas ándas enpeço á caminar, viniendo delante del dos mil yndios que le barrian el camino por donde venia caminando, y la gente de guerra la mitad de vn lado y la mitad de otro por los campos sin entrar en camino: traia ansi mesmo al señor de Chincha consigo en vnas andas, que parescia á los suyos cossa de admiracion, porque ningun yndio, por señor principal que fuese, avia de parescer delante del sino fuese con vna carga á cuestas y descalzo: pues hera tanta la pateneria que traian d' oro y plata, que hera cossa estraña lo que reluzia con el sol: venian ansi mesmo delante de Atabalipa muchos yndios cantando y danzando. Tardose ste señor en ándar esta media legua que ay dende los baños á donde el estava hasta Caxamalca, dende ora de missa mayor, como digo, hasta tres oras antes que anochesciese. Pues llegada la gente á la puerta de la plaza, enpeçaron á entrar los esquadrones con grandes cantares, y ansi entrando ocuparon toda la plaza por todas partes. Visto el marquez don Francisco Piçarro que Atabalipa venia ya junto á la plaza, embio al padre Fr. Vicente de Balverde primero obispo del Cuzco,

y á Hernando de Aldana vn buen soldado, y á don Martinillo lengua, que fuesen á hablar á Atabalipa y á requerille de parte de Dios y del Rey se subjetase á la ley de nuestro Señor Jesucristo y al servicio de S. Mag., y que el Marquez le tendria en lugar de hermano, y no consintiria le hiziesen enojo ni daño en su tierra. Pues llegado que fue el padre á las andas donde Atabalipa venia, le hablo y le dixo á lo que yva, y le predico cossas de nuestra sancta ffee, declarandoselas la lengua. Llevava el padre vn breviario en las manos donde leya lo que le predicaba: el Atabalipa se lo pidio, y el cerrado se lo dio, y como le tuvo en las manos y no supo abrille arrojole al suelo. Llamo al Aldana que se llegase á el y le diese la espada, y el Aldana lo saco y se la mostro, pero no se la quiso dar. Pues pasado lo dicho, el Atabalipa les dixo que se fuesen para Vellacos ladrones, y que las avia de matar á todos. Pues oydo esto, el padre se bolvio y conto al marquez lo que le avia pasado; y el Atabalipa entro en la plaza con todo su trono que traya, y el señor de Chincha tras del. Desque ovieron entrado y vieron que no parescia español ninguno, pregunto á sus capitanes, Donde estan estos cristianos que no parescen? Ellos le dixeron, Señor, estan escondidos de miedo. Pues visto el marquez don Francisco Piçarro las dos andas, no conosciendo qual hera la de Atabalipa, mando a Joan Piçarro su hermano fuese con los peones que tenia á la vna, y el yria á la otra. Pues mandado esto, hizieron la seña al Candia, el qual solto el tiro, y en soltandolo tocaron las trompetas, y salieron los de acavallo de tropel, y el marquez con los de á pie, como esta dicho, tras dellos, de manera que con el estruendo del tiro y las trompetas y el tropel de los cavallos con los cascaveles los yndios se embararon y se cortaron. Los españoles dieron en ellos y empeçaron á matar, y fue tanto el miedo quo los yndios ovieron, que por huir, no pudiendo salir por la puerta, derribaron vn lienzo de vna pared de la çerca de la plaza de largo de mas

de dos mil passos y de alto de mas de vn estado. Los de acavallo fueron en su seguimiento hasta los baños, donde hizieron grande estrago, y hizieran mas sino les anochesciera. Pues bolviendo á don Francisco Piçarro y á su hermano, salieron, como estava dicho, con la gente de á pie: el marquez fue á dar con las andas de Atabalipa, y el hermano con el señor de Chincha, al qual mataron alli en las ándas; y lo mismo fuera del Atabalipa sino se hallara el marquez alli, porque no podian derivalle de las andas, que aunque matavan los yndios que las tenian, se metian luego otros de reffresco á sustentallas, y desta manera estuvieron vn gran rrato fforcejando y matando indios, y de cansados vn español tiro vna cuchillada para matalle, y el marquez don Francisco Piçarro se la rreparo, y del rreparo le hirio en la mano al marquez el español, queriendo dar al Atabalipa, á cuya caussa el marquez dio bozes diciendo: Nadie hiera al indio, so pena de la vida. Entendido esto, aguijaron siete ó ocho españoles y asieron de vn bordo de las andas y haziendo fuerça las trastornaron á vn lado, y ansi fue preso el Atabalipa, y el marquez le llevo á su aposento, y alli le puso guardas que le guardavan de dia y de noche. Pues venida la noche, los españoles se recoxieron todos y dieron muchas gracias á nuestro Señor por las mercedes que les avia hecho, y muy contentos en tener presso al señor, porque á no prendelle no se ganara la tierra como se gano.

Carta de Hernando Pizarro, ap. Oviedo, Historia general de las Indias, MS., lib. 46, *cap.* 15.

Venia en unas handas, é delante de él hasta trecientos o cuatrocientos Yndios con Camisetas de librea limpiando las pajas del camino, é cantando, é el en medio de la otra gente que eran Caciques é principales, é los mas principales Caciques le traian en los hombros; é entrando en la Plaza subieron doce ó quince Yndios en una fortaleza que alli

estaba, e tomaronla á manera de posesion con vandera puesta en una lanza: entrando hasta la mitad de la Plaza reparó alli: é salió un Fraile Dominico que estaba con el Gobernador á hablarle de su parte, que el Gobernador le esperaba en su aposento, que le fuese á hablar, é dijole como era Sacerdote, é que era embiado por el Emperador para que le enseñase las cosas de la fe si quisiesen ser Cristianos, é mostrole un libro que llevaba en las manos, é dijole que aquel libro era de las cosas de Dios: é el Atabaliva pidió el libro, é arrojole en el suelo é dijo: Yo no pasaré de aqui hasta que me deis todo lo que habeis tomado en mi tierra, que yo bien se quien sois vosotros, y en lo que andais: é levantose en las andas, é habló á su gente, é obo murmullo entre ellos llamando á la gente que tenian las armas: é el fraile fué al Gobernador é dijole que que hacia, que ya no estaba la cosa en tiempo de esperar mas: el Gobernador me lo embió a decir: yo tenia concertado con el Capitan de la artilleria, que haciendole una seña disparasen los tiros, é con la gente que oyendolos saliesen todos á un tiempo: é como asi se hizo é como los Yndios estaban sin armas fueron desbaratados sin peligro de ningun Cristiano. Los que traian las andas, é los Caciques que venian al rededor del, nunca lo desampararon hasta que todos murieron al rededor del: el Gobernador salio é tomó á Atabaliva, é por defenderle le dió un cristiano una cuchillada en una mano. La gente siguió el alcance hasta donde estaban los Yndios con armas; no se halló en ellos resistencia alguna, porque ya era noche: recogieronse todos al Pueblo, donde el Gobernador quedaba.

No. IX.—See vol. ii. p. 153

ACCOUNT OF THE PERSONAL HABITS OF ATAHUALLPA; EXTRACTED FROM THE MS. OF PEDRO PIZARRO

[This minute account of the appearance and habits of the captive Inca is of the most authentic character, coming as it does from the pen of one who had the best opportunities of personal observation, during the monarch's imprisonment by his Conquerors. Pizarro's MS. is among those recently given to the world by the learned Academicians Salvá and Baranda.]

Este Atabalipa ya dicho hera indio bien dispuesto, de buena persona, de medianas carnes, no grueso demasiado, hermosso de Rostro y grave en el, los ojos encarnizados, muy temido de los suyos. (Acuérdome que el Señor de Guaylas le pidió licencia para yr a ver su tierra, y se la dió, dándole tiempo en que fuese y viniese limitado. Tardose algo mas, y cuando bolvio, estando yo presente, llegó con vn presente de fruta de la tierra, y llegado que fue á su presencia empeço á temblar en tanta manera que no se podia tener en los pies. El Atabalipa alço la caveza vn poquito y sonrriendose le hizo seña que se ffuese.) Quando le sacaron á matar, toda la gente que avia en la plaza de los naturales, que avia harto, se prostraron por tierra, dexandose caer en el suelo como Borrachos. Este indio se servia de sus mugeres por la horden que tengo ya dicha, sirviendole vna hermana diez dias ó ocho con mucha cantidad de hijas de señores que á estas hermanas servian, mudandose de ocho á ocho dias. Estas estavan siempre con el para serville, que yndio no entrava dond' el estava.

Tenia muchos caciques consigo: estos estavan afuera en vn patio, y en llamando alguno entrava descalzo y donde el estava; y si venia de fuera parte, avia de entrar descalzo y cargado con vna carga; y quando su capitan Challicuchima vino con Hernando Piçarro le entro á ver, entro asi como digo con vna carga y descalzo y se hecho á sus pies, y llorando se los beso. El Atabalipa con Rostro sereno le dixo: Seas bien venido alli, Challicuchima; queriendo dezir, Seas bien venido, Challicuchima. Este yndio se ponia en la caveza vnos llautos que son vnas trenças hechas de lanas de colores, de grosor de medio dedo y de anchor de vno, hecho desto vna manera de corona y no con puntas, sino redonda, de anchor de vna mano, que encaxava en la caveza, y en la frente vna borla cossida en este llauto, de anchor de vna mano, poco mas, de lana muy ffina de grana, cortada muy ygual, metida por vnos cañutitos de oro muy sotilmente hasta la mitad: esta lana hera hilada, y de los cañutos abaxo destorcida, que hera lo que caya en la frente; que los cañutillos de oro hera quanto tomavan todo el llauto ya dicho. Cayale esta borla hasta encima de las cejas, de vn dedo de grosor, que le tomava toda la frente; y todos estos señores andavan tresquilados y los orejones como á sobre peine. Vestian Ropa muy delgada y muy blanda ellos y sus hermanas que tenian por mugeres, y sus deudos, orejones principales, que se la davan los señores, y todos los demas vestian Ropa basta. Poniase este señor la manta por encima de la caveça y atabasela debajo de la barva, tapandose las orejas: esto traia el por tapar vna oreja que tenia rompida, que quando le prendieron los de Guascar se la quebraron. Bestiase este señor Ropas muy delicadas. Estando vn dia comiendo, questas señoras ya dichas le llevavan la comida y se la ponian delante en vnos juncos verdes muy delgados y pequeños; estaba sentado este señor en vn duo de madera de altor de poco mas de un palmo: este duo hera de madera colorada muy linda, y tenianle

siempre tapado con vna manta muy delgada, aunque stuviese el sentado en el: estos juncos ya dichos le tendian siempre delante quando queria comer, y alli le ponian todos los manjares en oro, plata y Barro, y el que á el apetescia señalava se lo truxesen, y tomandolo vna señora destas dichas se lo tenia en la mano mientras comia. Pues estando vn dia desta manera comiendo y yo presente, llevando vna tajada del manjar á la boca le cayo vna gota en el vestido que tenia puesto, y dando de mano á la yndia se levanto y se entro á su aposento á vestir otro vestido, y buelto saco vestido vna camiseta y vna manta (pardo escuro). Llegandome yo pues a el le tente la manta que hera mas blanda que seda, y dixele: Ynga, de que es este vestido tan blando? El me dixo, Es de vnos pajaros que andan de noche en Puerto Viejo y en Tumbez, que muerden á los indios. Venido á aclararse dixo, que hera de pelo de murcielagos. Diziendole, que de donde se podria juntar tanto murcielago? dixo, Aquellos perros de Tumbez y Puerto Viejo que avian de hazer sino tomar destos para hazer Ropa á mi padre? Y es ansi questos murcielagos de aquellas partes muerden de noche á los indios y á españoles y á cavallos, y sacan tanta sangre ques cossa de misterio, y ansi se averiguo ser este vestido de lana de murcielagos, y ansi hera la color como dellos del vestido, que en Puerto Viejo y en Tumbez y sus comarcas ay gran cantidad dellos. Pues acontescio vn dia que viniendose á quexar vn indio que vn español, tomava vnos bestidos de Atabalipa, el marquez me mando fuesse yo a saver quien hera y llamar al español para castigallo. El indio me llevo a vn buhio donde avia gran cantidad de petacas, porquel español ya hera ydo, diciendome que de alli avia tomado vn bestido del señor; e yo preguntandole que que tenian aquellas petacas, me mostro algunas en que tenian todo aquello que Atabalipa avia tocado con las manos, y avia estado de pies, y vestidos que el avia deshechado; en vnas los junquillos que le hechavan delante á los pies

quando comia; en otras los guessos de las carnes ó aves que comia, que el avia tocado con las manos; en otras los maslos de las mazorcas de mahiz que avia tomado en sus manos; en otras las rropas que havia deshechado; finalmente todo aquello que el avia tocado. Preguntele, que para que tenian aquello alli? Respondieronme, que para quemallo, porque cada año quemavan todo esto, porque lo que tocavan los señores que heran hijos del sol, se avia de quemar y hazer seniza y hechallo por el ayre, que nadie avia de tocar á ello; y en guarda desto estava vn prencipal con indios que lo guardava y rrecoxia de las mugeres que les servian. Estos señores dormian en el suelo en vnos colchones grandes de algodon: tenian vnas ffrecadas grandas de lana con que se cubijaban: y no e visto en todo este Piru indio semejante á este Atabalipa ni de su ferocidad ni autoridad.

No. X.—See vol. ii. p. 187

CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS OF THE EXECUTION OF ATAHUALLPA

[The following notices of the execution of the Inca are from the hands of eye-witnesses; for Oviedo, though not present himself, collected his particulars from those who were. I give the notices here in the original, as the best authority for the account of this dismal tragedy.]

Pedro Pizarro, Descubrimiento y Conquista de los Reynos del Peru, MS.

Acordaron pues los oficiales y Almagro que Atabalipa muriese, tratando entre si que muerto Atabalipa se aca-

baba el auto hecho acerca del tesoro. Pues dixeron al Marquez don Francisco Piçarro que no convenia que Atabalipa biviese; porque si se soltava, S. Mag. perderia la tierra y todos españoles serian muertos; y á la verdad, si esto no fuera tratado con malicia, como esta dicho, tenian razon, porque hera imposible soltandose poder ganar la tierra. Pues el marquez no quiso venir en ello. Visto esto los oficiales hizieronle muchos rrequerimientos, poniendole el servicio de S. Mag. por delante. Pues estando asi atravesose vn demonio de vna lengua que se dezia ffelipillo, vno de los muchachos que el marquez avia llevado á España, que al presente hera lengua, y andava enamorado de vna muger de Atabalipa, y por avella hizo entender al marquez que Atabalipa hazia gran junta de gente para matar los españoles en Caxas. Pues sabido el marquez esto prendio á Challicuchima que estava suelto y preguntandole por esta gente que dezia la lengua se juntavan, aunque negava y dezia que no, el ffelipillo dezia á la contra trastornando las palabras dezian á quien se preguntava esta casso. Pues el marquez don Francisco Piçarro acordo embiar á Soto á Caxas á saver si se hazia alli alguna junta de gente, porque cierto el marquez no quisiera matalle. Pues visto Almagro y los oficiales la yda de Soto apretaron al marquez con muchos rrequirimientos, y la lengua por su parte que ayudava con sus rretruecos, vinieron á convencer al marquez que muriese Atabalipa, porque el marquez hera muy zeloso del servicio de S. Mag. y ansi le hizieron temer, y contra su voluntad sentencio á muerte á Atabalipa mandando le diesen garrote, y despues de muerto le quemasen porque tenia las hermanas por mugeres. Cierto pocas leyes avian leido estos señores ni entendido, pues al infiel sin aver sido predicado le davan esta sentencia. Pues el Atabalipa llorava y dezia que no le matasen, que no abria yndio en la tierra que se meneasse sin su mandado, y que presso le tenian, que de que temian? y que si lo avian por oro y plata, que

el daria dos tanto de lo que avia mandado. Yo vide llorar al marques de pesar por no podelle dar la vida, porque cierto temio los requirimientos y el rriezgo que avia en la tierra si se soltavas. Este Atabalipa avia hecho entender á sus mugeres é yndios que si no le quemavan el cuerpo, aunque le matassen avia de bolver á ellos, que el sol su padre le rresucitaria. Pues sacandole á dar garrote á la plaza el padre fray Vicente de Balverde ya dicho le predico diziendole se tornase cristiano: y el dixo que si el se tornava cristiano, si el quemarian, y dixeronle que no: y dixo que pues no le avian de quemar que queria ser baptizado, y ansi fray Vicente le baptizo y le dieron garrote, y otro dia le enterraron en la yglesia que en Caxamalca teniamos los españoles. Esto si hizo antes que Soto bolviese á dar aviso de lo que le hera mandado; y quando vino truxo por nueva no aver visto nada ni aver nada, de que al marquez le peso mucho de avelle muerto, y al Soto mucho mas, porque dezia el, y tenia rrazon, que mejor ffuera embialle á España, y que el se obligara á ponello en la mar: y cierto esto fuera lo mejor que con este indio se pudiera hazer, porque quedar en la tierra no convenia: tambien se entendio que no biviera muchos dias, aunque le embiara, porque el hera muy regalado y mur señor.

Relacion del primer Descubrimiento de la Costa y Mar del Sur, MS.

Dando forma como se llevaria Atabalipa de camino, y que guardia se le pondria, y consultando y tratando si seriamos parte para defenderle en aquellos pasos malos y rios si nos le quisiesen tomar los suyos: comenzóse á decir y á certificar entre los Indios, que el mandaba venir grand multitud de gente sobre nosotros: esta nueva se fué encendiendo tanto, que se tomó informacion de muchos señores de la tierra, que todos á una dijeron que era verdad, que el mandaba venir sobre nosotros para que le salvasen, y nos

matasen si pudiesen, y que estaba toda la gente en cierta provincia ayuntada que ya venia de camino. Tomada esta informacion, juntarónse el dicho Gobernador, y Almagro, y los Oficiales de S. Mag. no estando ahi Hernando Pizarro, porque ya era partido para España con alguna parte del quinto de S. Mag. y á darle noticia y nueva de lo acaecido; y resumieronse, aunque contra voluntad del dicho Gobernador, que nunca estubo bien en ello, que Atabalipa, pues quebrantaba la paz, y queria hacer traicion y traher gentes para matar los cristianos, muriese, porque con su muerte cesaria todo, y se allanaria la tierra: á lo cual hubo contraríos pareceres, y la mas de la gente se puso en defender que no muriese; al cabo insistiendo mucho en su muerte el dicho Capitan Almagro, y dando muchas razones por qué debia morir, el fué muerto, aunque para él no fué muerte, sino vida, porque murió cristiano, y es de creer que se fué al cielo. Publicado por toda la tierra su muerte, la gente comun y de pueblos venian donde el dicho Gobernador estaba á dar la obediencia á S. Mag.; pero los capitanes y gente de guerra que estaban en Xauxa y en el Cuzco, antes se rehicieron, y no quisieron venir de paz. Aqui acaeció la cosa mas estraña que se ha visto en el mundo, que yo vi por mi sojos, y fué; que estando en la iglesia cantando los oficios de difuntos á Atabalipa, presente el cuerpo, llegaron ciertas señoras hermanas y mugeres suyas, y otros privados con grand estruendo, tal que impidieron el oficio, y dijeron que les hiciesen aquella fiesta muy mayor, porque era costumbre cuando el grand señor moria, que todos aquellos que bien le querian, se enterrasen vivos con el: á los cuales se les respondio, que Atabalipa habia muerto como cristiano, y como tal le hacian aquel oficio, que no se habia de hacer lo que ellos pedian, que era muy mal hecho y contra cristianidad; que se fuesen de alli, y no les estorbasen, y se le dejasen enterrar, y ansi se fueron á sus aposentos, y se ahorcaron todos ellos y ellos. Las cosas que pasaron en estos dias, y los

extremos y llantos de la gente son muy largas y prolijas, y por eso no se dirán aqui.

Oviedo, Historia general de las Indias, MS., lib. 46, *cap.* 22.

Cuando el Marques Don Francisco Pizarro tubo preso al gran Rey Atabaliva le aconsejaron hombres faltos de buen entendimiento, que le matase, ó el obo gana, porque como se vieron cargados de oro, parecioles que muerto aquel Señor lo podian poner mas á su salvo en España donde quisiesen é dejando la tierra, y que asimismo serian mas parte para se sustener en ella sin aquel escrupuloso impedimento, que no conservandose la vida de un Principe tan grande, é tan temido é acatado de sus naturales, y en todas aquellas partes; é la esperiencia ha mostrado cuan mal acordado é peor fecho fue todo lo que contra Atabaliva se hizo despues de su prision en le quitar la vida, con la cual demas de deservirse Dios quitaron al Emperador nuestro Señor, é á los mismos Españoles que en aquellas partes se hallaron, y á los que en España quedaron, que entonces vivian y á los que aora viven é nacerán innumerables tesoros, que aquel Principe les diera; é ninguno de sus vasallos se mobiera ni alterara como se alteraron é revelaron en faltando su Persona. Notorio es que el Gobernador le aseguró la vida, y sin que le diese tal seguro el se le tenia, pues ningun Capitan puede disponer sin licencia de su Rey y Señor de la Persona del Principe que tiene preso, cuyo es de derecho, cuanto mas que Atabaliva dijo al Marques, que si algun Cristiano matasen los Yndios, ó le hiciesen el menor daño del mundo, que creyese que por su mandado lo hacia, y que cuando eso fuese le matase ó hiciese del lo que quisiese; é que tratandole bien él le chaparia las paredes de plata, é le allanaria las Sierras é los montes, é le dariá á el, é á los Cristianos cuanto oro quisiesen, é que desto no tubiese duda alguna; y en pago de sus ofrecimientos

encendidas pajas se las ponian en los pies ardiendo, porque digese que traicion era la que tenia ordenada contra los Cristianos, é inventando é fabricando contra el falsedades, le levantaron que los queria matar, é todo aquello fue rodeado por malos e por la inadvertencia é mal Consejo del Gobernador, é comenzaron á la hacer proceso mal compuesto y peor escrito, seyendo uno de los Adalides un inquieto, desasosegado é deshonesto Clerigo, y un Escribano falto de conciencia, é de mala habilidad, y otros tales que en la maldad concurrieron, é asi mal fundado el libelo se concluyo á sabor de dañados paladares, como se dijo en el Capitulo catorce, no acordandose que le habian enchido las casas de oro é plata, é le habian tomado sus mugeres é repartidolas en su presencia é usaban de ellas en sus adulterios, é en lo que les placia á aquellos aquien las dieron; y como les pareció á los culpados que tales ofensas no eran de olvidar, é que merecian que el Atabaliva les diese la recompensa como sus obras eran, asentoselés en el animo un temor é enemistad con el entrañable; é por salir de tal ciudado é sospecha le ordenaron la muerte por aquello que él no hizo ni pensó; y de ver aquesto algunos Españoles comedidos aquien pesaba que tan grande deservicio se hiciese á Dios y al Emperador nuestro Señor; y aunque tan grande ingratitud se perpetraba é tan señalada maldad se cometia como matar á un Principe tan grande sin culpa. E viendo que le traian á colacion sus delitos é crueldades pasadas, que el habia usado entre sus Yndios y enemigos en el tiempo pasado, de lo cual ninguno era Juez, sino Dios; queriendo saber la verdad é por excusar tan notorios daños como se esperaban que habian de proceder matando aquel Señor se ofrecieron cinco hidalgos de ir en persona á saber y ver si venia aquella gente de guerra que los falsos inventores é sus mentirosas espias publicaban, á dar en los Cristianos; en fin el Gobernador (que tambien se puede creer que era engañado) lo obo por bien; é fueron el Capitan Hernando

de Soto, el Capitan Rodrigo Orgaiz, é Pedro Ortiz, é Miguel de Estete, é Lope Velez a ver esos enemigos que decian que venian; é el Gobernador les dió una Guia ó Espia, que decia que sabia donde estaban; é á dos dias de camino se despeño la guia de un risco, que lo supo muy bien hacer el Diablo para que el daño fuese mayor; pero aquellos cinco de caballo que he dicho pasaron adelante hasta que llegaron al lugar donde se decian que habian de hallar el egercito contrario, é no hallaron hombre de guerra, ni con armas algunas, sino todos de paz; é aunque no iban sino esos pocos cristianos que es dicho les hicieron mucha fiesta por donde andubieron, é les dieron todo lo que les pidieron de lo que tenian para ellos é sus criados, é Yndios de servicio que llevaban; por manera que viendo que era burla, é muy notoria mentira é falsedad palpable, se tornaron á Cajamalca donde el Gobernador estaba; el cual ya habia fecho morir al Principe Atabaliva se que la historia lo ha contado; é como llegaron al Gobernador hallaronle mostrando mucho sentimiento con un gran sombrero de fieltro puesto en la cabeza por luto é muy calado sobre los ojos, é le digeron: Señor, muy mal lo ha fecho V. S^{a}, y fuera justo que fueramos atendidos para que supierades que es muy gran traicion la que se le levantó á Atabaliva, porque ningun hombre de guerra hay en el Campo, ni le hallamos, sino todo de paz, é muy buen tratamiento que no se nos hizo en todo lo que habemos andado. El Gobernador respondió é les dijo: Ya veo que me han engañado: desde á pocos dias sabida esta verdad, e murmurandose de la crueldad que con aquel Principe se usó, vinieron á malas palabras el Gobernador y fray Vicente de Valverde, y el Tesorero Riquelme, é á cada uno de ellos decia que el otro lo habia fecho, é se desmintieron unos á otros muchas veces, oyendo muchos su rencilla.

No. XI.—See vol. ii. p. 256

CONTRACT BETWEEN PIZARRO AND ALMAGRO, MS.; DATED AT CUZCO, JUNE 12, 1535

[This agreement between these two celebrated captains, in which they bind themselves by solemn oaths to the observance of what would seem to be required by the most common principles of honesty and honor, is too characteristic of the men and the times to be omitted. The original exists in the archives at Simancas.]

Nos Dⁿ Francisco Pizarro, Adelantado, Capitan General y Governador por S. M. en estos Reynos de la Nueva Castilla, é Dⁿ Diego de Almagro, asimismo Governador por S. M. en la provincia de Toledo, decimos: que por que mediante la intima amistad y compañia que entre nosotros con tanto amor ha permanecido, y queriendolo Dios Nuestro Señor hacer, ha sido parte y cabsa que el Emperador é Rey nuestro Señor haya recevido señalados servicios con la conquista, sujecion é poblacion destas provincias y tierras, é atrayendo á la conversion y camino de nuestra Santa Fee Catolica tanta muchedumbre de infieles, é confiando S. M. que durante nuestra amistad y compañia su real patrimonio sera acrecentado, é asi por tener este intento como por los servicios pasados, S. M. Catolica tubo por bien de conceder á mi el dicho Dⁿ Francisco Pizarro la governacion de estos nuebos Reynos, y á mi el dicho Dⁿ Diego de Almagro la governacion de la provincia de Toledo, de las quales mercedes que de su Real liberalidad hemos receivdo, resulta tan nueba obligacion, que perpetuamente nuestras vidas y patrimonios, y de los que de nos decendieren en su Real servicio se gasten y

consuman, y para que esto mas seguro y mejor efecto haya y la confianza de S. M. por nuestra parte no fallezca, renunciando la Ley que cerca, de los tales juramentos dispone, prometemos é juramos en presencia de Dios Nuestro Señor, ante cuyo acatamiento estamos, de guardar y cumplir bien y enteramente, y sin cabtela ni otro entendimiento alguno lo espresado y contenido en los capitulos siguientes, é suplicamos á su infinita bondad que á qualquier de nos que fuere en contrario de lo asi convenido, con todo rigor de justicia permita la perdicion de su anima, fin y mal acavamiento de su vida, destruicion y perdimiento de su familia, honrras y hacienda, porque como quebrantador de su fee, la qual el uno al otro y el otro nos damos, y no temerosos de su acatamiento, reciva del tal justa venganza: y lo que por parte de cada uno de nosotros juramos y prometemos es lo siguiente.

Primeramente que nuestra amistad é compañia se conserve mantenga para en adelante con aquel amor y voluntad que hasta el dia presente entre nosotros ha habido, no la alternado ni quebrantando por algunos intereses, cobdicias, ni ambicion de qualesquiera honrras é oficios, sino que hermanablemente entre nosotros se comunique é seamos parcioneros en todo el bien que Dios Nuestro Señor nos quiera hacer.

Otrosi, decimos so cargo del juramento é promesa que hacemos, que ninguno de nosotros calumniara ni procurara cosa alguna que en daño o menos cabo de su honrra, vida y hacienda al otro pueda subceder ni venir, ni dello sera cabsa por vias directas ni indirectas por si propio ni por otra persona tacita ni espresamente cabsandolo ni permitiendolo, antes procurará todo bien y honrra y trabajará de se lo llegar y adquirir, y evitando todas perdidas y daños que se le puedan recrecer, no siendo de la otra parte avisado.

Otrosi: juramos de mantener, guardar y cumplir lo que entre nosotros esta capitulado, á lo qual al presente

nos referimos, é que por via, causa ni maña alguna ninguno de nosotros verná en contrario ni en quevrantamiento dello, ni hará diligencia, protestacion ni Reclamacion alguna, é que si alguna oviere fecha, se aparta ó desiste de ella é la renuncia so cargo del dicho juramento.

Otrosi: juramos que juntamente ambos á dos, y no el uno sin el otro, informaremos y escriviremos á S. M. las cosas que segun nuestro parecer mejor á su Real servicio convengan, suplicandole, informandole de todo aquello con que mas su catolica conciencia se descargue, y estas provincias y Reynos mas y mejor se conserven y goviernen, y que no habrá relacion particular por ninguno de nosotros hecha en fraude é cabtela y con intento de dañar y enpecer al otro, procurando para si, posponiendo el servicio de Nuestro Señor Dios y de S. M., y en quebrantamiento de nuestra amistad y compañia, y asimismo no permitira que sea hecho por otra qualquier persona, dicho ni comunicado, ni lo permita ni consienta, sino que todo se haga manifiestamente entre ambos, porque se conozca mejor el celo que de servir á S. M. tenemos, pues de nuestra amistad é compañia tanta confianza ha mostrado.

Yten: juramos que todos los provechos é intereses que se nos recrecieren asi de los que yo Dⁿ Francisco Pizarro oviere y adquiriere en esta governacion por qualquier vias y cabsas, como los otros que yo Dⁿ Diego de Almagro he de haber en la conquista y descubrimiento que en nombre y por mandado de S. M. hago, lo traeremos manifiestamente á monton y collacion, por manera que la compañia que en este caso tenemos hecha permanezca, y en ella no haya fraude, cabtela ni engaño alguno, é que los gastos que por ambos é qualquier de nos se obieren de hacer se haga moderada y discretamente conforme, y proveyendo á la necesidad que se ofreciere evitando lo escesivo y superfluo socorriendo y proveyendo á lo necesario.

Todo lo qual segun en la forma que dicho esta, es nuestra voluntad de lo asi guardar y cumplir so cargo del

juramento que asi tenemos fecho, poniendo á Nuestro Señor Dios por juez y á su gloriosa Madre Santa Maria con todos los Santos por testigos, y por que sea notorio á todos los que aqui juramos y prometemos, lo firmamos de nuestros nombres, siendo presentes por testigos el Licenciado Hernando Caldera Teniente General de Governador en estos Reynos por el dicho Señor Governador, é Francisco Pineda Capellan de su Señoria, é Antonio Picado su Secretario, é Antonio Tellez de Guzman y el Doctor Diego de Loaisa, el qual dicho juramento fue fecho en la gran Cibdad del Cuzco en la casa del dicho Governador Dⁿ Diego Dalmagro, estando diciendo misa el Padre Bartolome de Segovia Clerigo, despues de dicho el pater noster, poniendo los dichos Governadores las manos derechas encima del Ara consagrada á 12 de Junio de 1535 años.—Francisco Pizarro.—El Adelantado Diego Dalmagro.—Testigos el Licenciado Hernando Caldera—Antonio Tellez de Guzman.

Yo Antonio Picado Escrivano de S. M. doy fee que fui testigo y me halle presente al dicho juramento é solenidad fecho por los dichos Governadores, y yo saqué este traslado del original que queda en mi poder como secretario del Señor Governador Dⁿ Francisco Pizarro, en fee de lo qual firmé aqui nombre.—Fecho en la gran Cibdad del Cuzco á 12 dias del mes de Julio de 1535 años. Antonio Picado Escribano de S. M.

No. XII.—See vol. iii. p. 9

LETTER FROM THE YOUNGER ALMAGRO TO THE ROYAL AUDIENCE OF PANAMÁ, MS.; DATED AT LOS REYES [LIMA], JULY 14, 1541

[This document, coming from Almagro himself, is valuable as exhibiting the best apology for his conduct, and, with due allowance for the writer's position, the best account of his proceedings. The original—which was transcribed by Muñoz for his collection—is preserved in the archives at Simancas.]

Mui magnificos Señores,—Ya Vs Mrds. havran sabido el estado en que he estado despues que fué desta vida el Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro mi padre, que Dios tenga en el Cielo, i como quedé debajo de la vara del Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro, i creo yo que pues son notorias las molestias i malos tratamientos que me hicieron i la necesidad en que me tenian á vn rincon de mi casa sin tener otro remedio sino el de S. M. á quien ocurri que me lo diese como Señor agradecido de quien yo lo esperava pagando los servicios tan grandes que mi padre le hizo de tan gran ganancia é acrecentamiento para su Real Corona, no hay necesidad de contarlas, i por eso no las contaré, i dejaré lo pasado i vendré á dar á Vs Mrds. cuenta de lo presente, é diré que aunque me llegava al alma verme tan afligido, acordandome del mandamiento que mi padre me dejó que amase el servicio de S. M. i questava en poder de mis enemigos; sufria mas de lo que mi juicio bastava, en especial ser cada dia quien á mi padre quitó la vida, i havian escurecido sus servicios por manera que dél ni de mi no havia memoria; i como la Ene-

mistad quel Marques me tenia é á todos mis amigos é criados fuese tan cruel i mortal, i sobre mi sucediese, quiso efetualla por la medida con que la usó con mi padre, estando siguro en mi casa, gimiendo mi necesidad, esperando el remedio i mercedes que de S. M. era razon que yo alcanzase, mui confiado de gozarlas, haciendo á S. M. servicios como yo lo deseo; fui informado quel Marques trataba mi prendimiento i fin, determinado que no quedase en el mundo quien la muerte de mi padre le pidiese, y acordandome que para darsela hallaron testigos á su voluntad, asi mismo los hallaron para mi, por manera que padre i hijo fueran por vn juicio juzgados. Por no dejar mi vida en alvedrio tan diabolico i desatinado, temiendo la muerte, determinado de morir defendiendo mi vida i honra, con los criados de mi padre i amigos, acordé de entrar en su casa i prenderle para escusar mayores daños, pues el Juez de S. M. ya venia i á cada uno hiciera justicia, i el Marques como persona culpada en la defensa de su prision é persona armada para ello hizo tanto que por desdicha suya fué herido de vna herida de que murió luego, i puesto que como hijo de padre á quien el havia muerto lo podia recibir por venganza, me pesó tan estrañamente que todos conocieron en mi mui gran diferencia, i por ver que estava tan poderoso i acatado como era razon no hovo hombre viendolo en mitad del dia que echase mano á espada para ayuda suya ni despues hay hombre que por el responda: parece que se hizo por juicio de Dios i por su voluntad, porque mi deseo no era tan largo que se estendiese á mas de conservar mi vida en tanto aquel juez llegava; é como vi el hecho procuré antes que la cosa mas se encendiese en el pueblo i que cesasen esecucion de prisiones de personas que ambas opiniones havian siguido questaban afrontadas, i cesasen crueldades, é huviese justicia que lo estorvase é castigase, é se tomase cabeza que en nombre de S. M. hiciese justicia é governase la tierra, pareciendo á la republica é comunidad de su Cibdad é oficiales de S. M.

que por los servicios de mi padre e por haver él descubierto é ganado esta tierra me pertenecia mas justamente que á otro la governacion della, me pidieron por Governador i dentro de dos horas consultado é negociado con el Cabildo, fui recibido en amor i conformidad de toda la republica: Asi quedó todo en paz i tan asentados i serenos los animos de todos, que no hovo mudanza, i todo está pacifico, i los pueblos en la misma conformidad i justicia que han estado, i con el ayuda de Dios se asentará cada dia la paz tan bien que de todos sea obedecida por señora, i S. M. será tambien servido como es razon, como se deve: porque acabadas son las opiniones é parcialidades, é yo é todos pretendemos la poblacion de la tierra i el descubrimiento della, porque los tiempos pasados que se han gastado tan mal con alborotos que se han ofrecido, é descuidos que ha habido, agora se ganen é se alcancen i cobren, i con este presupuesto esten Vs Mrds. ciertos que está el Perú en sosiego, i que las riquezas se descubrirán é irán á poder de S. M. mas acrecentadas i multiplicadas que hasta aqui, ni havrá mas pasion ni movimiento sino toda quietud, amando el servicio de S. M. i su obidiencia, aprovechando sus Reales rentas: Suplico á Vs Mrds. pues el caso parece que lo hizo Dios i no los hombres, ni yo lo quise asi como Dios lo hizo por su juicio secreto, é como tengo dicho la tierra esta sosegada, i todos en paz; Vs Mrds. por el presente manden suspender qualquiera novedad, pues la tierra se conservará como está, é será S. M. mui servido; é despues que toda la gente que no tienen vecindades las tengan, é otros vayan á poblar é descubrir, podrán proveer lo que conviniere, i es tiempo que la tierra Españoles i naturales no reciban mas alteracion, pues no pretenden sino sosiego i quietud, i poblar la tierra i servir á S. M. porque con este deseo todos estamos i estaremos, i de otra manera crean Vs Mrds. que de nuevo la tierra se rebuelve é inquieta, porque de las cosas pasadas vnos i otros han pretendido cada vno su fin, é sino descansan de los tra-

bajos que han padecido con tantas persecuciones de buena ni de mala perdiendose no terná S. M. della cuenta, é los naturales se destruirían é no asentarán en sus casas é perecerán mas de los que han perecido; é conservar estos é conservar la tierra i los vecinos i moradores della todo es vno; i pues en tanta conformidad yo tengo la tierra é con voluntad de todos fui eligido por Governador, porque mas obidiencia haya, é la justicia mas acatada sea, i entiendan que me han de acatar i obedecer en tanto que S. M. otra cosa manda, porque de lo pasado yo le embio aviso; Suplico á Vs Mrds. manden despachar desa Audiencia Real vna cedula para que todos me obedezcan i tengan por Governador, porque asi mas sosegados ternán todos los animos i mas i mejor se hará el servicio de S. M. i terná mas paz la tierra, é confundirse han las voluntades que se quisieren levantar contra estos é sino lo mandasen Vs Mrds. proveer en tanto que S. M. declara su Real Voluntad, podría ser que por parte de alguna gente que por acá nunca faltan mas amigos de pasiones que de razon, que se levantase algun escandalo de que Dios i S. M. fuesen mas deservidos: Nuestro Señor las mui magnificas personas de Vs Mrds. guarde tan prosperamente como desean: destos Reyes á 14 de julio de 1541 años. Beso las manos de Vs Mrds., Don Diego de Almago.

No. XIII.—See vol. iii. p. 52

LETTER FROM THE MUNICIPALITY OF AREQUIPA TO THE EMPEROR CHARLES THE FIFTH, MS.; DATED AT SAN JUAN DE LA FRONTERA, SEPTEMBER 24, 1542

[The stout burghers of Arequipa gave efficient aid to the royal governor in his contest with the younger Almagro; and their letter, signed by the municipality, forms one of the most authentic documents for a history of this civil war. The original is in the archives at Simancas.]

S. C. C. M.—Aunque de otros muchos terná V. M. aviso de la vitoria que en ventura de V. M. i buena deligencia i animo del Governador Vaca de Castro se ovo del tirano Don Diego de Almagro é sus secazes, nosotros el Cabildo i vecino de Arequipa le queremos tambien dar, porque como quien se halló en el peligro, podremos contar de la verdad como pasó.

Desde Xauxa hicimos relacion á V. M. de todo lo sucedido hasta entonces, i de los preparamientos quel Governador tenia proveidos para la guerra de alli. Salió con toda la gente en orden i se vino á esta Cibdad de San Joan de la Frontera, donde tuvimos nuevas como el traidor de Don Diego de Almagro estava en la provincia de Bilcas, que es onze leguas desta Cibdad, que venia determinado con su dañada intencion á darnos la batalla. En este comedio vino Lope Diaquez del real de los traidores, i dió al Governador una carta de Don Diego, i otra de doze Capitanes mui desvergonzados de fieros i amenazas; i el Governador con zelo de que no oviese tantas muertes entre los vasallos de V. M. como siempre fué su intento de ganar el juego

por maña, acordó de tornarles a embiar al dichio Lope Ydiaquez i á Diego de Mercado Fator de la nueva Toledo, para ver si los podian reducir i atraer al servicio de V. M. i fueron tan mal rescibidos que quando escaparon con las vidas se tuvieron por bien librados. La respuesta que les dieron fué que no querian obedecer las provisiones reales de V. M. sino darle la batalla, i luego alzaron su real i caminaron para nosotros. Visto esto el Governador sacó su real deste pueblo i caminó contra ellos dos leguas, donde supo, que los traidores estavan á tres, en un asiento fuerte i comodo para su artilleria. El governador acordó de los guardar alli, donde le tomó la voz, porque era llano i lugar fuerte al nuestro proposito. Como esto vieron los traidores, sabado que se contaron diez i seis de setiembre, se levantaron de donde estavan, i caminaron por lo alto de la sierra i vinieron una legua de nosotros, i sus corredores vinieron á ver nuestro asiento. Luego el Governador provio que por una media loma fuese un Capitan con cinquenta arcabuceros, i otro con cinquenta lanzas á tomar lo alto, i sucedió tambien que sin ningun riesgo se tomó i luego todo el exercito de V. M. lo subió. Visto esto, los enemigos que estarian tres quartos de legua, procuraron de buscar campo donde nos dar la batalla, i asi le tomaron á su proposito i asentaron su artilleria i concertaron sus esquadrones, que eran ducientos i treinta de cavallo, en que venian cinquenta hombres de armas: la infanteria eran ducientos arcabuzeros i ciento i cinquenta piqueros, todos tan lucidos é bien armados, que de Milan no pudieran salir mejor aderezados: el artilleria eran seis medias culebrinas de diez á doze pies de largo, que echavan de bateria una naranja: tenian mas otros seis tiros medianos todos de fruslera, tan bien aderezados i con tanta municion que mas parecia artilleria de Ytalia que no de Yndias. El Governador vista su desverguenza, la gente mui en orden, despues de haver hecho los razonamientos que convenian,

diciendonos que viesemos la desverguenza que los traidores tenian i el gran desacato á la corona Real, caminó á ellos, i llegando á tiro donde su artilleria podia alcanzar, jugo luego en nosotros, que la nuestra por ser mui pequeña é ir caminando, no nos podimos aprovechar della de ninguna cosa, i asi la dexamos por popa: matarnos hian antes que llegasemos á romper con ellos mas de 30 hombres, i siempre con este daño que rescebiamos, caminamos hasta nos poner á tiro de arcabuz, donde de una parte i de otra jugaron i se hizo de á mas partes arto daño, i lo mas presto que nos fue posible porque su artilleria aun nos echava algunas pelotas en nuestros esquadrones, cerramos con ellos, donde duró la batalla de lanzas, porras, i espadas mas de una grande hora: fué tan reñida i porfiada que despues de la de Rebena no se ha visto entre tan poca gente mas cruel batalla, donde hermanos á hermanos, ni deudos á deudos, ni amigos á amigos no se davan vida uno á otro. Finalmente como llevasemos la justicia de nuestra parte, nuestro Señor en ventura de V. M. nos dió vitoria, i en el denuedo con que acometió el Governador Baca de Castro el qual estava sobresaliente con treinta de cavallo, armado en blanco con una ropilla de brocado sobre las armas con su encomienda descubierta en los pechos, contra el qual estavan conjurados muchos de los traidores, pero él como cavallero se les mostró i defendió tan bien, que para hombre de su edad i profesion, estamos espantados de lo que hizo i trabajo, i como rompió con sus sobresalientes, luego desampararon el campo i conseguimos gloriosa vitoria, la qual estuvo harto dudosa, porque si eramos en numero ciento mas que ellos, en escoger el campo i artilleria i hombres de armas i arcabuzes, nos tenian doblada ventaja. Fué bien sangrienta de entramas partes, i si la noche no cerrara tan presto, V. M. quedara bien satisfecho destos traidores, pero lo que no se pudo entonces hacer, ahora el Governador lo hace, desquartizando cada dia á los que se escaparon: murieron en la batalla de los nues-

tros el capitan Per Alvarez Holguin i otros sesenta cavalleros i Hidalgos; i están eridos de muerte Gomez de Tordoya i el Capitan Peranzures i otros mas de ciento. De los traidores murieron ciento é cinquenta, i mas de otros tantos eridos; presos están mas de ciento i cinquenta: Don Diego i otros tres capitanes se escaparon: cada ora se traen presos; esperamos que un dia se habrá Don Diego á las manos, porque los Yndios como villanos de Ytalia los matan i traen presos. V. M. tenga esta vitoria en gran servicio, porque puede creer que agora se acabó de ganar esta tierra i ponerla debaxo del cetro Real de V. M. i que esta ha sido verdadera conquista i pacificacion della, i asi es justo que V. M. como gratisimo Principe gratifique i haga mercedes á los que se la dieron; i al Governador Baca de Castro perpetuarle en ella en entramas governaciones no dividiendo nada dellas porque no hai otra batalla, i á los soldados i vecinos que en ella se hallaron, remunerarles sus trabajos i perdidas, que han rescibido por reducir estos Reinos á la Corona Real de V. M. i mandando castigar á los vecinos que oyendo la voz Real de V. M. se quedaron en sus casas grangeando sus repartimientos i haciendas, porque gran sin justicia seria, Sacra M. que bolviendo nosotros á nuestras casas pobres i mancos de guerra de mas de un año, hallasémos á los que se quedaron sanos i salvos i ricos, i que á ellos no se les diese pena ni á nosotros premio ni galardon, i esto seria ocasion para que si otra vez oviese otra rebelion en esta tierra ó en otra, no acudiesen al servicio de V. M. como seria razon i somos obligados. Todos tenemos por cierto, quel Governador Baca de Castro lo hará asi, i que en nombre de V. M. á los que le han servido hará mercedes, i á los que no acudieron á servir á V. M. castigará. S. C. C. M. Dios todo poderoso acreciente la vida de V. M. dandole vitoria contra sus enemigos, porque sea acrescentada su santa fee, amen. De San Joan de la Frontera á 24 de septiembre de 1542 años.—Besan las manos i pies de V. M. sus leales Vasallos,—Hernando

de Silva,—Pedro Piçarro,—Lucas Martinez,—Gomez de Leon,—Hernando de Torre,—Lope de Alarcon,—Juan de Arves,—Juan Flores,—Juan Ramirez,—Alonso Buelte, —Melchior de Cervantes,—Martin Lopez,—Juan Crespo, —Francisco Pinto,—Alonso Rodriguez Picado.

No. XIV.—See vol. iii. p. 261

PROCESS CONTAINING THE SENTENCE OF DEATH PASSED ON GONZALO PIZARRO, AT XAQUIXAGUANA, APRIL 9, 1548

[This instrument is taken from the original manuscript of Zarate's Chronicle, which is still preserved at Simancas. Muñoz has made several extracts from this MS., showing that Zarate's history, in its printed form, underwent considerable alteration, both in regard to its facts and the style of its execution. The printed copy is prepared with more consideration; various circumstances, too frankly detailed in the original, are suppressed; and the style and disposition of the work show altogether a more fastidious and practised hand. These circumstances have led Muñoz to suppose that the Chronicle was submitted to the revision of some more experienced writer before its publication; and a correspondence which the critic afterwards found in the Escorial, between Zarate and Florian d'Ocampo, leads to the inference that the latter historian did this kind office for the former. But, whatever the published work may have gained as a literary composition,

as a book of reference and authority it falls behind its predecessor, which seems to have come without much premeditation from the author, or, at least, without much calculation of consequences. Indeed, its obvious value for historical uses led Muñoz, in a note indorsed on the fragments, to intimate his purpose of copying the whole manuscript at some future time.]

Vista é entendida por Nos el Mariscal Francisco de Albarado, Maestre de Campo deste Real exercito, el Licenciado Andres de Cianca, Oidor de S. M. destos Reinos, é subdelegados por el mui Ilustre Señor el Licenciado Pedro de la Gazca del Consejo de S. M. de la Santa Inquisicion, Presidente destos Reinos é provincias del Perú, para lo infra escripto la notoriedad de los muchos graves é atroces delitos que Gonzalo Pizarro ha cometido é consentido cometer á los que le han seguido, despues que á estos Reinos ha venido el Visorrey Blasco Nuñez Vela, en deservicio é desacato de S. M. é de su preminencia é corona Real, é contra la natural obligacion é fidelidad que como su vasallo tenia é devia á su Rei é señor natural é de personas particulares, los quales por ser tan notorios del dicho no se requiere orden ni tela de juicio, mayormente que muchos de los dichos delitos consta por confesion del dicho Gonzalo Pizarro é la notoriedad por la informacion que se ha tomado, é que combiene para la pacificacion destos Reinos é exemplo con brevedad hacer justicia del dicho Gonzalo Pizarro.

Fallamos atento lo susodicho junta la dispusicion del derecho, que devemos declarar é declaramos el dicho Gonzalo Pizarro haver cometido crimen laesae Majestatis contra la corona Real Despaña en todos los grados é causas en derecho contenidas despues que á estos Reinos vino el Virrey Blasco Nuñez Vela, é asi le declaramos é conde-

namos al dicho Gonzalo Pizarro por traidor, é haver incurrido él é sus descendientes nacidos despues quel cometió este dicho crimen é traicion los por linea masculina hasta la segunda genéracion, é por la femenina hasta la primera, en la infamia é inabilidad é inabilidades, é como á tal condenamos al dicho Gonzalo Pizarro en pena de muerte natural, la qual le mandamos que sea dada en la forma siguiente: que sea sacado de la prision en questá cavallero en una mula de silla atados pies é manos é traido publicamente por este Real de S. M. con voz de pregonero que manifieste su delito, sea llevado al tablado que por nuestro mandado esta fecho en este Real, é alli sea apeado é cortada la cabeza por el pescueso, é despues de muerta naturalmente, mandamos que la dicha cabeza sea llevada á la Ciudad de los Reyes como ciudad mas principal destos Reinos, é sea puesta é clavada en el rollo de la dicha Ciudad con un retulo de letra gruesa que diga, Esta es la cabeza del traidor de Gonzalo Pizarro que se hizo justicia del en el valle de Aquixaguana donde dió la batalla campal contra el estandarte Real queriendo defender su traicion é tirania; ninguno sea osado de la quitar de aqui so pena de muerte natural: é mandamos que las casas quel dicho Pizarro tiene en la Cibdad del Cuzco . . . . sean derribadas por los cimientos é aradas de sal, é á donde agora es la puerta sea puesto un letrero en un pilar que diga: Estas casas eran de Gonzalo Pizarro las quales fueron mandadas derrocar por traidor, é ninguna persona sea osado dellas tornar á hacer i edificar sin licencia expresa de S. M. so pena de muerte natural: e condenamosle mas en perdimiento de todos sus bienes de qualquier calidad que sean é le pertenezcan, los quales aplicamos á la Camara é Fisco de S. M. é en todas las otras penas que contra los tales están instituidas: é por esta nuestra sentencia definitiva juzgamos é asi le pronunciamos é mandamos en estos escritos é por ellos.—Alonso de Albarado; el Lic^{do} Cianca.

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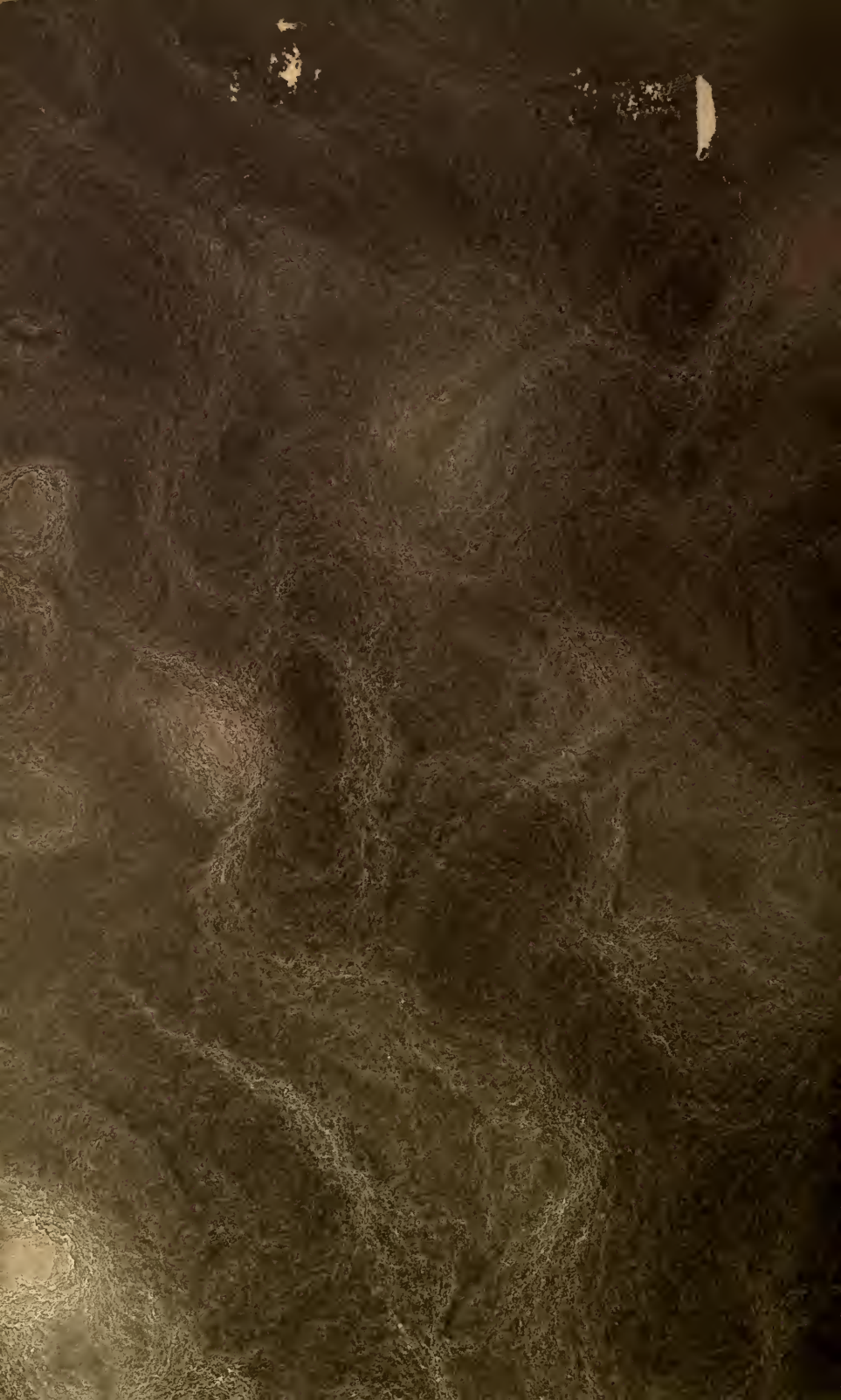

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